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SUR QUELQUES DOCUMENTS NOUVEAUX CONCERNANT LES CULTES DE CYBÈLE ET D'ATTIS: DES BALKANS À LA GAULE

PAR

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Paris

Il y a plus ou moins longtemps que les brillantes découvertes faites à Rome, au Palatin, par M. P. Romanelli et celles d'Ostie, près de la Porta Laurentina, dues au regretté Guido Calza, ont été soumises à l'examen des savants ¹⁾. On attend encore en partie, il est vrai, le détail des fouilles complémentaires les plus récemment menées au *Métrôon* du Palatin. Pour Ostie, un mémoire posthume — accompagné des publications complémentaires de Mme Raïssa Calza, après la mort prématurée de l'éminent archéologue italien — avait paru en 1946, apportant un précieux enrichissement au lot de nos connaissances relatives aux cultes de Cybèle et d'Attis: pour l'Italie notamment.

L'intérêt des monuments livrés ici et là à l'étude ne pouvait échapper. On a cherché aussitôt de divers côtés à les mettre en valeur, en Italie, en France, ailleurs encore; et cela d'autant plus volontiers que l'on devait constater la rareté des autres sanctuaires de la Magna Mater précédemment connus aux bords de la Méditerranée. Ainsi, l'aubaine de Rome et d'Ostie apparaissait-elle des plus instructi-

1) Les récents sondages, très heureux, de M. P. Romanelli (1950-1951), sur la surface et dans les profondeurs de la *cella* du *Métrôon* du Palatin, ont, non seulement confirmé l'identification du lieu-saint, mais prouvé — fait capital — qu'Attis était déjà présent à Rome, près de la Magna Mater: peu après 191 av. J. C. Les terres cuites (inédites, mais visibles à l'Antiquarium du Palatin) qui ont été trouvées pendant les travaux, sont pergaméniennes, à mon sens, orientalisantes en tout cas. — Pour Ostie (Porta Laurentina), cf. *Memorie Pontif. Accad. romana di archeologia*, Ser. III, vol. 6, 1946, p. 183-227. Le culte de la Grande Mère phrygienne avait été transporté officiellement dans l'Occident latin, et spécialement à Rome, dès 204 av. J.C.; mais avec des restrictions, justement marquées par Alfonso Bartoli dès 1947: cf. *Memorie Pontif. Accad. romana di archeologia*, ser. III, vol. 6, 2, No 8, p. 229-239.

ves²). L'information était, certes, bien moins riche ailleurs, en Afrique, en Grèce et en Orient, et cette situation n'a pas changé. Les *Métrôa* de type grec, p. ex. ceux d'Olympie³) et d'Athènes⁴) consacrés au culte de la vieille déesse créto-hellénique Rhea-Cybèle, et qui servaient de dépôts d'archives locales ont livré peu de leurs secret cultuels et autres, jusqu'ici; les autres moins encore⁵): p. ex. celui de Thèbes, lié au souvenir de Pindare.

2) En France, cf. p. ex. *Rev. Ét. anc.*, 49, 1947, p. 380-386; *Comptes-rendus Acad. Inscr.*, 1948, p. 144 sqq.; cf. aussi 25 Fév. 1949, *ibid.*

3) Sur les *Métrôa* d'Olympie et d'Athènes comme locaux d'archives, sur les questions qu'ils posent, cf. Ch. PICARD, *Mél. P. Lavedan, Urbanisme et architecture*, 1953, p. 287-293: *Les Métroa grecs, temples et locaux d'archives*. Le *Métrôon* de Délos, qui n'a pas été retrouvé encore, servait de dépôt d'archives, tout comme celui d'Athènes.

Je ne suis pas d'accord avec les fouilleurs américains d'Athènes, sur la localisation du *Métrôon* de l'Agora, qui comportait une cour, destinée à l'installation des *kurbéis*, et un Propylée décoré, à l'entrée, de deux Pans (cf. l'*At-tideion* d'Ostie). L'emplacement du *Métrôon* d'Athènes était celui où les fouilleurs américains ont voulu placer le „*Bouleuterion* neuf”. Sur le *Métrôon* d'Olympie et ses environs, R. HAMPE, *Studies ... D. M. Robinson*, I, 1951, p. 337-350, pl. 13-14, qui relève justement que, dans l'Altis, on ignore s'il n'y a pas eu un culte ancien de Météor, toute affirmation étant impossible tant qu'on n'aura pas mené des fouilles en profondeur au-dessous du *Métrôon* du IV^e s.

4) Cf. Ch. PICARD, ci-dessus, n. 3, pour les problèmes topographiques et la critique des résultats des fouilles américaines à l'Agora l'Athènes (*Hesperia*, années 1937 sqq.); *id.*, *Rev. Hist. relig.*, 135, 1949, p. 129-142; d'autre part, H. A. THOMPSON *Hesperia*, 6, I, 1937, p. 115 sqq.; cf. aussi A. Mc. DONALD, *The political meeting places of the Greeks*, 1943, et le compte-rendu que j'en ai donné, *Rev. archéol.*, 1951, I, p. 86-89, appelant là l'attention sur les difficultés du débat *Métrôon-Bouleuterion*: la question, à mon avis, devra être entièrement reprise. En dehors de l'Attique, la Béotie fut longtemps la seule province où le culte était diffusé et répandu (M. P. NILSSON, *Gesch. d. griech. Religion*, II, 1950, p. 323). Pour le *Métrôon* d'Agdistis, à Athènes, cf. ci-après n. 5.

5) Pour le *Métrôon* d'Agdistis (nom de la Grande-Mère anatolienne à Pesinonte) qui est signalé à Rhamnonte, mais dont l'emplacement reste inconnu, cf. l'inscription trouvée à Athènes, près de l'Agora romaine, et qui date (J. A. NOTOPOULOS, *Hesperia*, 18, 1949, p. 7) des parages de 83-82; cf. aussi A. K. RHOMAIOS, *Hellenika*, I, 2, p. 233-243; P. ROUSSEL, *Rev. Ét. anc.*, 32, 1930, p. 5-8; J. POUILLoux, *La forteresse de Rhamnonte*, 1954, p. 139-141, n° 24 (*Mus. épigr. Athènes*, n° 12665): à partir de la l. 6, on voit là une copie de décret, faite d'après l'original qui était conservé au *Métrôon* d'Athènes même, c.a.d. dans les archives de l'Etat; mais on ne sait pas encore ce qu'étaient aux juste les ἀρχωνες portés officiellement par des ἀρχονοφόροι (?), mentionnés là et ailleurs. La l. 4 donne le nom d'Ἀδάμμη porté, semble-t-il, par une femme, et qui rappelle un des noms d'Attis. Sur Agdistis, cf. P. ROUSSEL, *l.l.* (ci-dessus), p. 7-8. Pour les rapports d'Agdistis et de Cybèle, Th. ZIELINSKI, *La Sibylle*, 1924, p. 76 sqq.; Ch. PICARD, *Rev. archéol.*, 1941, II, p. 264 sqq. (à propos d'un *skyphos* du Cabirion de Thèbes).

En Anatolie, le sanctuaire de la Mété Aspordéné, à Mamurt-Kaleh, au voisinage de Pergame — s'il est instructif pour l'architecture, ayant été construit avant 263 av. J.-C. par Philhétairos, le fondateur de la dynastie des Attalides — n'est qu'un *téménos* provincial avec un temple exigu (11 m. \times 7); il n'a rien révélé de très neuf quant au culte ⁶⁾).

On connaît, d'autre part, un *Métrôon* à Colophon, mais dont l'étude reste à faire ⁷⁾. Il est fâcheux que le vaste et ancien sanctuaire dont Hérodote a parlé (IV, 76) à propos de la conversion d'Anacharsis, sanctuaire dont la présence est attestée près de Cyzique, n'ait pas été exploré à temps; beaucoup de marbres sculptés et d'éléments architecturaux en ont été plus ou moins clandestinement retirés, notamment lors de la construction des quais de Panderma; et le pillage n'a sans doute jamais cessé. Ce qu'on peut croire sorti de ce lieu-saint, et qui a pu être publié, sollicite déjà l'attention ⁸⁾. Si le site vient à être fouillé exhaustivement un jour, comme on veut encore l'espérer, il devra donner, peut-on croire, des enseignements fructueux.

Il peut suffire de cette rapide revue de l'état actuel des découvertes. Assurément lacunaire elle-même, elle indique du moins qu'il y a beaucoup encore à trouver; et beaucoup à apprendre sur le terrain. D'autre part, les livres synthétiques de H. Hepding, *Attis, seine Mythen und sein Kult, Religionsgeschichtl. Versuche und Vorarbeiten*, I, 1903; d'H. Graillot, *Le Culte de Cybèle Mère des dieux, à Rome et dans l'Empire romain*, 1912 ⁹⁾ qui avait visé à constituer, dès 1903 et 1912, des répertoires fondamentaux de faits, d'inscriptions, de documents figurés ressuscitant les aspects divers du culte de Mété, ont vieilli

6) Fouillé et publié par A. CONZE et P. SCHATZMANN: *Ergänzungs-Heft 9 zu Arch. Jahrb.*, Berlin, 1911; cf. Erwin OHLEMUTZ, *Die Kulte und Heiligtümer der Götter in Pergamon*, 1940, p. 174 sqq. (avec la bibliographie).

7) *Hesperia*, 13, 1944, p. 51 sqq. pl. 9; L. ROBERT, *Rev. philol.*, 1936, p. 158-159.

8) Th. MACRIDY-BEY et Ch. PICARD, *Bull. corresp. hellén.*, 45, 1921, p. 436-470; P. DEVAMBEZ, *Rev. archéol.*, 1937, I, p. 176-194. Sur le culte cyzicène d'après des monnaies: H. v. FRITZE, *Der Attiskult in Kyzikos, Nomisma*, 4, 1909, p. 33 sqq.; M. P. NILSSON, *Gesch. griech. Religion* II, 1950, p. 622, n. 3.

9) Les ouvrages fondamentaux restent ceux de H. Hepding et de H. Graillot; moins spéciaux: G. SHOWERMAN, *The Great Mother of the Gods, Bullet. of the University of Wisconsin*, I, 2, 1900; V. SCHEPERLEN, *Montanismen og de Phrygische Kulte*, Diss. Copenhague, 1920, p. 135 sqq. (il y a eu une traduction en allemand: *Der Montanismus u. die phrygischen Kulte*, 1929). L'ouvrage de H. Graillot constitue le tome 107 de la *Bibliothèque des Ecoles d'Athènes et de Rome*; le titre sera cité partout ci-après: *Culte de Cybèle*, sous forme abrégée.

depuis lors, pour de nombreuses questions générales, et surtout pour l'information archéologique, qu'on doit considérer parfois là comme ou controuvée, ou du moins transformée fondamentalement. La réfection de ces travaux est nécessaire et déjà en cours, en certains pays ¹⁰⁾.

Assurément, ainsi que l'a déjà remarqué M. E. Will en un ouvrage récent ^{10a)}, la carte qu'on pourrait vouloir dresser des cultes phrygiens dans l'Empire romain, notamment à l'aide des Attis recensés en 1912 par H. Graillot, nécessiterait de sérieuses retouches, avant de pouvoir être invoquée comme témoignage de la diffusion de la religion de Cybèle et Attis. Là aussi, nous manquons d'une statistique géographique exacte et complète. Je n'ai eu dessein, ci-après, que de chercher à préciser, si possible, l'interprétation à donner à quelques découvertes récentes, concernant, ici et là, Cybèle et son favori.

* * *

En septembre 1953, j'avais été envoyé par la Direction de l'Architecture en France, avec une mission d'architectes, en Yougoslavie; j'ai rendu compte ailleurs de ce voyage d'études ¹¹⁾, en spécifiant que je traiterais à part de renseignements obtenus sur le culte de Cybèle et d'Attis, au cours d'un trajet, malheureusement trop rapide, qui m'a mené du Nord au Sud, de Belgrade à Okrid, par Skoplje, et en sens inverse.

C'est vers Skoplje et dans la région de Nish que j'ai rencontré

10) J'ai eu récemment entre les mains un travail préparatoire (mémoire de diplôme d'études supérieures) d'un élève de M. P. Merlat, à Rennes; ce répertoire commenté vise à annoncer une mise au point, qui sera méritoire, sur le culte de Cybèle en Gaule. — Pour Cybèle et Attis à Rome, cf. déjà J. CARCOPINO, *Aspects mystiques de la Rome païenne*, 1941, p. 49-171, qui reprend là et assemble divers articles parus dans les *Mélanges de l'Ecole de Rome*, et traite surtout de la réforme romaine du culte de Cybèle et d'Attis; R. PETTAZONI, *I misteri*, 1924; M. P. NILSSON, *Gesch. gr. Religion* II, 1950. Les ouvrages de Fr. CUMONT (*Les religions orientales dans le paganisme romain*, 1929 p. 83 sqq.) apportent aussi une documentation toujours valable.

10a) *Le relief cultuel gréco-romain*, 1955, p. 199.

11) *Comptes-rend. Acad. Inscr.* 1954, p. 70-95: *Observations archéologiques en Yougoslavie*. Le culte de Cybèle est bien connu, déjà, à travers les Balkans et dans les régions bosporanes; cf. p. ex., V. SKORPIL, *Der Kultus d. Kybele im Bosporianischen Reich*, *Festschrift für Jos. Kral*, 1913, p. 190 sqq; pour la Dalmatie, J. ZEILLER, *Rev. archéol.*, 1928, II, p. 209-219 (à propos des *cognationes* de Salone, associations religieuses pour le culte de la *Magna Mater*).

d'abord certains documents dignes d'appeler l'attention. J'ai déjà mentionné la déesse du petit musée ouvert en pleins champs près de Nish, au lieu d'une installation thermale de l'ancienne Mediana, semble-t-il ¹²). Il existe là une curieuse effigie de la Cybèle agraire des Balkans, à l'époque impériale, statuette drapée de dimensions moyennes (haut. 1 m. 34). Elle tient sur sa main droite repliée devant le corps l'image d'un taureau. Sa main gauche, abaissée le long du corps, porte ce qui doit avoir été une bourse de cuir. Le plus curieux est que la déesse a près d'elle, à gauche, posée sur le socle, une *protomé* de cervidé, d'une biche probablement. Au-dessus du crâne de l'animal est plantée une bipenne: l'arme qui armait dès avant Homère le bras sacrilège de Lycurgue l'Édone, dans sa poursuite des *Tithénai* de Bacchos enfant; le fétiche sacré des Préhellènes, qui apparaissait déjà dans l'Egéide à la période créto-mycénienne, fichée sur le frontal du taureau; elle était donc restée aux Balkans de tradition, près des déesses-mères locales, jusqu'en pleine époque gréco-romaine et romaine impériale.

Dans la région de Skoplje, où un précieux musée archéologique (Kursumli Han), a été installé pour la région de la Yougoslavie centrale, on rencontre certaines attestations qui m'ont paru non moins importantes, révélant un culte d'Attis-pin et pomme-de-pin.

On savait en général les rapports du favori de Cybèle avec les cultes de l'arbre; je voudrais marquer ci-après l'intérêt des documents recueillis en Macédoine Seconde.

Il s'agit là de stèles funéraires ¹³); certaines avaient été signalées à l'attention dès 1931 par N. Vulić, mais leur représentations figurées n'ont peut-être pas bénéficié de toute l'attention désirable.

Le nombre s'en est d'autre part accru.

12) *Comptes-rend. Acad. Inscr.* 1954, *l.l.*, p. 94, fig. 7-8. L'exécution de la statuette de Cybèle au taureau est assez médiocre, comme on en juge par la photographie; mais le prototype était peut-être hellénistique ou plus ancien (cf. le petit bronze de Veii publié par Mme M. SANTANGELO, *Archeol. classica*, 4, 1, 1952, p. 46); l'image canonique se serait conservée à Mediana, dans le répertoire local.

13) Cybèle a été protectrice patentée des tombes, en Thrace comme en Phrygie, et ailleurs même en Anatolie; cf. J. KEIL, *Oesterr. Jahresh.*, 18, 1916, p. 66-78 (*Denkm. d. Meterkultes*: stèles rupestres voisines d'Ephèse, avec Zeus, Méter-Agdistis, et Attis); O. WALTER, *ibid.*, 31, 1938, p. 68, n. 74; en général, G. RADET, *Cybébé*, 1909; SCHWENN, *Kybele* (P.-W., *RE*, 1922, II, col. 1517, 2250).

Voici celles qui méritent surtout mention, à ma connaissance:

1) Stèle de Vlokovo, près de Prilep ¹⁴): N. Vulič, *Antički spomenici nasezemplje*, dans *Spomenik*, 71, SKA., 1931; n° 51: marbre blanc. Il y a en haut un fronton avec acrotères latéraux; il est orné au centre d'un disque (ou d'une rosace?): en dessous, et en tête de l'inscription funéraire, trois Attis-pins sont représentés curieusement côte-à-côte. Il s'agit là de véritable bétyles, car la tête est formée par une pomme de pin: les bras, réduits à des moignons courts et arrondis, pourraient être aisément considérés comme le „feuillage” d'accompagnement de la pomme de pin, tel que certaines stèles le montrent aussi: p. ex. ici, pl. II. Le corps est constitué par un simple triangle ou cône à base très large.

2) même provenance, n° 363: même marbre blanc ¹⁵); même publication.

Ici, au fronton de la stèle, qui est aussi pourvu d'acrotères latéraux, on voit une rosace. Les trois Attis-pins, à tête de pommes de pin, s'alignent parallèlement en dessous, et leurs bras grossiers vont de l'un à l'autre, comme s'ils se tenaient affectueusement par les épaules. On comparera les „Courètes” de Cybèle, formant la *Κουρητικὴ Τριάς* (ci-après, p. 9).

3) n° 364. Même provenance; même marbre blanc. Mêmes dimensions, semble-t-il. Inscription presque effacée ¹⁶. Même publication.

Les stèles du type des trois documents de Vlokovo ne sont pas les seules connues, dans la région de Prilep, ou ailleurs en Yougoslavie centrale. J'en ai remarqué d'autres au musée du Khani de Skoplje. Certaines figurent les trois dieux associés, avec tête en pomme de pin, sous un fronton décoré avec une image centrale, debout, d'une *Potnia*, évidemment Cybèle; dans le tympan d'une autre, on voit seulement la pomme de pin, montée sur une courte tige d'où se déroulent — en quelque sorte symétriquement — vers la droite et vers la

14) La pierre fut apportée de Vélès au musée de Skoplje: haut. 0.83; larg. 0.45; ép. 0.15. Copie de O. Vulič:

Εὐ]φρόσυνος | ζῶ]ν ἑαυτοῦ | μνε[]ας χάριν | κ]ε θερεπαρίων.

15) Haut. 1 m. 50; larg. 0.55; épais. 0.15. L'inscription était déjà à peine lisible en 1931.

Παράμο[νος | καὶ Μεσ[τρία Φι | λίππ[ω | μνήμ[ης χάριν | ἐτῶν κ . . . |

16) Haut. 1 m. 50; larg. 0.55; épais. 0.15:

Βενερία | τὸν υἱὸν | μνήμης]χάριν .

gauche, des „feuilles” d'arbre. Parfois, le symbole du fruit de l'arbre conifère est doublé, comme sur la stèle de Julia Rutilia Flavia ¹⁷), simple cippe à encadrement mouluré, qui ne sépare pas l'épithaphe de l'„en-tête” sculpté.

En d'autres cas, la stèle est sommée d'un fronton très élevé; elle compte, si l'on peut dire, trois registres. En haut, dans le triangle du fronton, on voit deux pins représentés des pieds à la tête, montés sur une sorte de griffe triangulaire, comme si l'on apercevait leurs racines hors du sol. Une telle figuration donne l'impression d'arbres sacrés, préparés pour une cérémonie, comme celle de l'*arbor intrat*, par exemple. Au dessous des deux pins tympanaux, dans un panneau rectangulaire, on voit une sorte de niche à cintre, dont l'arc est porté sur deux colonnes isolées, à larges chapiteaux; elle assemble, côte à côte, deux effigies, dont la plus grande, à gauche, est sûrement féminine. Les deux personnages sont vus de face, selon la frontalité la plus rigide. Leurs pieds posent sur un socle élevé et épais. L'inscription funéraire vient en dessous, séparée ¹⁸): ici, pl. III, à droite. Les deux faces sont décorées de l'image des Attis-pins.

Je signalerai encore un document conservé au Kursumli-Han de Skoplje ¹⁹); il comporte trois registres et montre les deux pins d'Attis, cette fois sous le fronton, au-dessous d'un tympan à angle aigu, garni de divers symboles ²⁰). Les deux pins sont montés, là encore, sur le curieux „trépied” à trois griffes. Ils encadrent aussi une sorte de trophée, rappelant plus ou moins le signe décoratif du fronton, à sa partie haute, comme on va voir. Il s'agit, peut-on croire, d'une tige (ou mat?) équarrie, portant sur un socle cubique, assez élevé. A la partie supérieure, à la place des branches, on voit les mêmes ornements en ↑


17) *Spomenik*, 98, 1941-1948, p. 22, no 55 = *Spom.* 75, no 21. Haut. 1 m. 20; larg. o. 66; épais. o. 60:

Ἰουλίᾳ Ρουτί | λία Φλαυία | Αἰλίου Καπί | τωνος τοῦ | ἀνδρὸς καὶ | ἐαυτῆς |
ἔῳ[σα ἐποίησεν | μνήμης χάριν. *Hedera*.

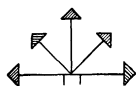
18) *Spomenik*, 96-101; cf. 98 (77) 1941-1948, p. 66, no 137 (Musée de Skoplje):
Λει. Σεκοῦνδος | Λουκαίνῃ τῇ | μητρὶ μνείας | χάριν.

19) *Spomenik*, 98, 1941-1948, p. 64, no 133 (à g.):
Γρανώνιος Γαῖ | ανος καὶ Πρι | ΠΕ ΠΠΕΠΠΠΣ | οταλη
Τίτω πα | τρι μνείας χάρι (sic) ἔτους γοτ'.

Peut-être faut-il lire le nom d'une Prima (?) Sotalé, l. 2. 3.

20) On voit près de l'angle supérieur un symbole ; plus bas, un croissant et une étoile (étoile de mer?).

qu'au fronton; mais ils se détachent, au nombre de cinq, en éventail, deux, obliques et intermédiaires apparaissant à droite et à gauche.



Je ne connais rien de comparable; mais nous ne devons

pas oublier que les dédicaces de deux bases voisines consacrées à Attis, à Ostie, ne parlent, de façon énigmatique, l'une, que de l'*image* du jeune berger, l'autre de son *signum* (CIL. XIV, 34, 35, 37): à l'*Attideion* même d'Ostie, un des ex-voto de l'hémicycle était un pin, avec fruits et feuillage en tête, entouré sur son tronc des longs replis d'un serpent enroulé ²¹).

D'une autre stèle funéraire brisée haut et bas ²²), dont on ne sait plus si elle avait comporté un fronton, reste en haut la partie inférieure d'un cadre rectangulaire, avec un seul Attis-pin entouré jadis de deux figures anthropomorphes, brisées à mi-corps: en dessous on voit, comme „en tête de l'inscription”, des instruments agricoles, pic, serpette, ébranchoir, semble-t-il (pl. III, au centre).

Il n'est pas question, ici du moins, de collectionner plus en détail les monuments de cette série, moins encore de prétendre à en dresser une liste exhaustive. Ils ont dû être nombreux aux Balkans.

Qu'il suffise de marquer l'intérêt des figurations d'Attis-arbre, avec la curieuse présentation sur une triple griffe émergeant du sol. Non moins spéciale et significative est la valeur donnée à la pomme de pin, devenue la tête du dieu, comme ailleurs elle a pu figurer son cœur ²³). On retrouve cette croyance à travers divers folklores antiques.

21) Mme Raissa CALZA, *Memorie Pontif. Accad. romana di archeologia*, III, 6, 1946; cf. 112 n. 4 (172 du Musée d'Ostie), fig. 13 à la p. 213; marbre blanc italique; haut. 0 m. 91. En bas, dédicace de C. Cartilius Euplu(s): „*Atti sacrum ex monitu deae*. Il doit s'agir là du *signum* d'Attis mentionné sur certaines inscriptions, comme l'équivalent même du jeune dieu.

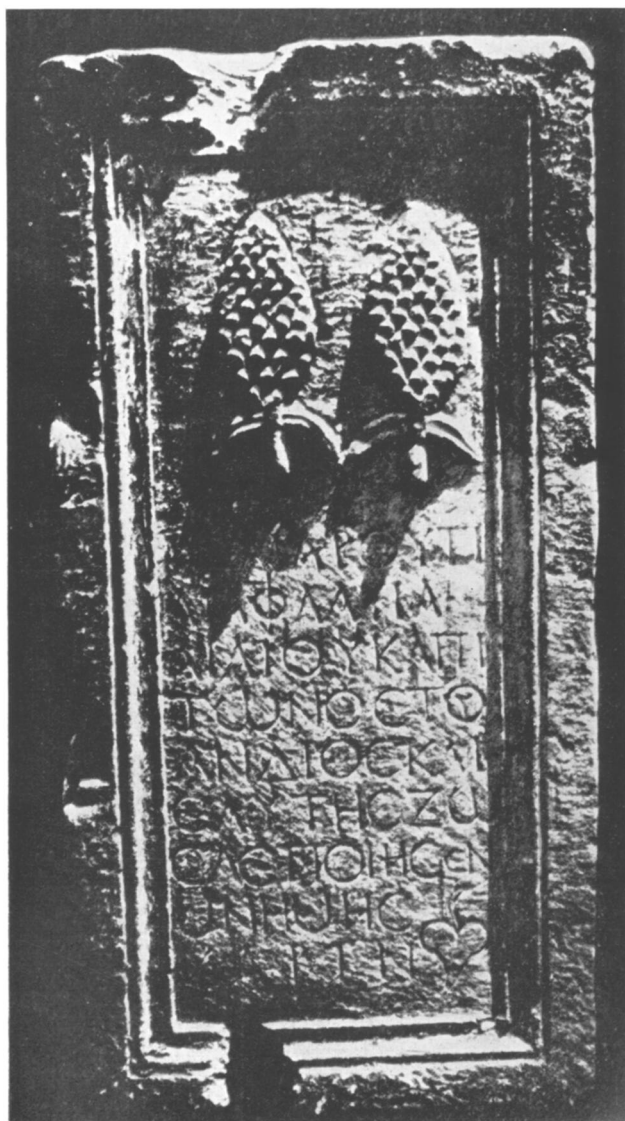
22) *Spomenik*, l.l., no 134, fig. à droite:

Διοσκορηη (Διοσκορίδη ?) | Σωτηρίδ[ου] | τῷ ἀνδρὶ | καὶ ἑαυτῇ
ΜΙΙΕ (μνήμης ?) χάριν.

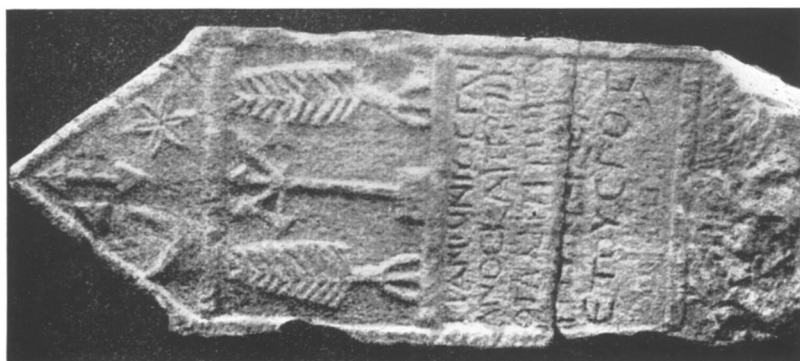
23) L'équivalence cœur-tête, et le sens donné à la pomme de pin, qui peut être soit la tête, soit le cœur, pour le dieu, s'annonçait déjà dans le Proche Orient, aux hautes époques. On a fait connaître (R. DUSSAUD, *Syria*, 27, 1950, p. 346, n.1) un bel exemple d'„âme extérieure”, posée sur la fleur du pin-parasol. En Egypte, dans le *Conte des deux Frères* (Papyrus d'Orbiney), récit de l'époque pharaonique qui se situe à la fois dans la vallée du Nil et au Liban (cf. G. LEFÉBVRE, *Romans et Contes égyptiens de l'époque pharaonique*, 1949, p. 137 sqq.), le cadet d'Anoup-Anubis, nommé Bata, a le pouvoir de retirer de sa poitrine



Cippe autel de Périgueux, Dordogne: France.



Double symbole d'Attis-pin, stèle funéraire de Yougoslavie.



Symboles d'Attis et de Cybèle sur des stèles funéraires de Yougoslavie.



Applique de la Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (Cabinet des Médailles) : Cybèle et ses lions; deux Attis en pommes de pin.



Tessère de Volubilis (Maroc), avec la ciste de Cybèle et les symboles d'Attis.

Il y a aussi dans l'imagerie ci-dessus signalée, qui mérite d'apparaître comme assez nouvelle, certains éléments énigmatiques: par exemple, le symbole de l'arbre-trophée (Pl. III, à g.), dont le sens échappe. D'autre part, ou le redoublement, ou la présentation triplée, sur une même stèle, des images du dieu-arbre, voire de la pomme de pin, sont des faits curieux qui trouvent eux aussi diverses correspondances. On ne manquera pas, en effet, de penser ici à la présence, ailleurs fréquemment constatée (Ch. Picard, *Monum. Piot*, 49, 1957, à paraître), d'une *Κουρητικὴ Τριάς* affectée à la protection de Cybèle (et d'Attis), ainsi que l'atteste un passage de Julien, *Orat.* 5,168 B: *δορυφοροῦσι γὰρ αὐτὸν (τὸν Ἄττιν) παρὰ τῆς Μητρὸς δοθέντες οἱ Κορύβαντες*. Il y a, là même, l'indication des liens des cultes métroaques avec ceux des Corybantes et des Courètes, ainsi que M. Otto Walter l'a justement fait constater depuis 1938 ²⁴). D'autres rapports seraient à rechercher. Dans l'imagerie mithriaque, p. ex.; et ils sont ²⁵) susceptibles de l'éclairer elle même, en retour. Jusque pour le culte de Sabazios, ainsi

son cœur identifié avec sa vie: il le met à l'abri, en un cas de péril, au sommet de la fleur de pin-parasol. A la suite d'une trahison, on abat l'arbre: le cœur tombe, et Bata meurt aussitôt, sa vie étant déchuée. Mais le frère de Bata retrouve le viscère-moteur; il le met dans un bol d'eau, où le cœur se ranime. A la suite de sa résurrection, Bata se changera de nouveau en un arbre, qu'on abattra encore; mais un copeau détaché pendant l'abatage, volant dans la bouche d'une femme, la féconde. — On trouverait des traditions analogues aux Indes: cf. Odette VIENNOT, *Le culte de l'arbre dans l'Inde ancienne*, 1954, p. 138 sqq., avec les mêmes croyances, mort ou fécondation. — Pour les emprunts faits dans d'autres folklores, cf. G. LEFÉVRE, *Chron. d'Égypte*, 25, 1950, N. 49, p. 17-26: *Bata et Ivan*; utilisation des mêmes croyances d'Égypte en Russie.

24) *Oesterr. Jahresh.*, 31, 1938, p. 53-80.

25) L'attention vient d'être appelée là-dessus, d'autre part, dans la thèse de M. Ernest WILL, *Le relief cultuel gréco-romain*, 1955; cf. déjà Fr. CUMONT, *Textes et Monuments relatifs aux mystères de Mithra*, 1894-1899; *Les Mystères de Mithra*, 1900, 1902, 1913; et le recueil de F. SAXL, *Mithras, Typengeschichtliche Untersuchungen*, Berlin, 1931. Il n'est pas besoin d'insister ici sur la ressemblance qu'offrent Cautès et Cautopatès, les assesseurs canoniques de Mithra, avec des Attis: flanquant en règle le Tauroctone, ils constituaient avec lui une sorte de triade. Or, ces deux acolytes, on le sait, ne peuvent revendiquer une origine iranienne; mais ils portent flambeau, et participent au mithriacisme, constituant avec leur maître le *τριπλάσιος Μίθρας*. L'association usuelle des bonnets phrygiens (d'Attis?), de l'arbre, du *pedum*, a été constatée fréquemment sur les monuments mithriaques, les stèles danubiennes, les reliefs de Cybèle et Attis (relief de Vienne-Isère, plaque de marbre du Cabinet des Médailles, Paris: cf. P. FRIEDLÄNDER, *Documents of dying paganism*, 1945, pl. 16, p. 64).

que certains documents l'ont montré récemment ²⁶⁾, la méthode comparative permettrait d'apercevoir certaines analogies et des explications possibles.

* * *

Les observations qu'on peut faire sur certains documents „attidiens” récemment reparus au jour — ceux de Rome-Ostie, p. ex., ceux de Yougoslavie — ont, d'autre part, une portée assez lointaine qui paraîtrait paraître inattendue.

Je ne pense pas errer en faisant constater qu'ils expliquent à distance quelques monuments gallo-romains crus jusqu'ici énigmatiques; et, comme on va voir, d'autres d'Afrique ²⁷⁾. Tout le monde connaît, par la célèbre *Pigna* du Vatican, le symbole de la pomme de pin, tant de fois utilisée et reproduite décorativement, jusqu'à l'époque de la Renaissance et au-delà.

En 1953, un texte de feu Franck Delage a paru en France dans *Gallia* ²⁸⁾, après la mort de l'auteur. Ce texte a été respecté, comme il convenait, lors de l'édition posthume; mais MM. P. Boyancé et P. M. Duval y ont ajouté, l'un et l'autre déjà, des appendices utiles, compléments ou rectifications ²⁹⁾. Fr. Delage avait intitulé son étude „*Ovoïdes gallo-romains*”.

M. P. Boyancé a, le premier, signalé justement que, dans la plupart des cas, les objets ovoïdes en cause devaient être des pommes de pin. Il pourrait y avoir quelque doute, toutefois, pour ceux qui sortent d'une touffe d'acanthes et paraissent lisses ³⁰⁾. Quelque peinture les avait-elle jadis complètes? On ne saurait le prouver. Il pourrait s'agir

26) Cf. Dim. TSONTCHEV, *Rev. arch.*, 1954, II, p. 15-20: *Un monument de syncrétisme religieux en Thrace* (plaque votive du Musée de Plovdiv, où figure en place principale le dieu thrace Sabazios, tenant le thyrsos et environné de pommes de pin (une à gauche, deux à droite); au bandeau inférieur, le cavalier thrace).

27) Pour les monuments de Gaule, cf. notamment J. J. HATT, *La tombe gallo-romaine*, 1951, qui s'est occupé au passage de certains de ces monuments, dont il ne reconnaît pas la signification religieuse (cf. p. 238, n. 4, notamment). Mais il n'a pas étudié spécialement le problème des rapports avec Attis. — Pour les monuments d'Afrique, cf. ci-après, p. 17-18.

28) T. XI, 1953, I, p. 25-37.

39) *Ibid.*, p. 37-39.

30) Par exemple: *l.l.*, fig. 1-2 (Musée de Périgueux)

d'oeufs funéraires: mais, pour cette explication, la feuille d'acanthé embarrasse un peu ³¹).

Les provenances en Gaule sont diverses: p. ex., Aurial (Creuse), Vésone (Périgueux), Limoges, Boulogne, Bavai, Grenoble, etc. ... (p. 29).

Le rôle funéraire de ces documents est assuré: ils terminaient parfois le haut des cippes; parfois aussi, ils étaient posés sur des cippes en pierre, taillés à part, contenant et protégeant des urnes cinéraires. Il y a quelque fois des inscriptions qui confirment l'utilisation sacrée ³²).

Les „pommes de pin” reconnaissables à première vue (*l.l.*, p. 32 sqq.), ont été nombreuses, assurément, en toutes régions de la Gaule romaine. La nécropole de Trion, à Lyon, en a fourni, à elle seule, une série qui atteste peut être un culte d'Attis important. On en connaît, de Marseille en Provence, à Arlon et Lindon, en Belgique; il y en a à Sarrebrück, à Mayence, à Trèves, etc.

De plus, les pommes de pin sont parfois groupées comme les Attis-arbres en Yougoslavie. Fr. Delage l'avait déjà remarqué, et il a parlé aussi des „bi-ovoïdes d'Ostergnies, des tri-ovoïdes de Bavai, des quadri-ovoïdes de Recquignies.” On en a noté d'autres (*l.l.*, p. 35). Ces multi-ovoïdes sont particulièrement fréquents au pays des Nerviens, région plus ou moins rebelle aux cultes anthropomorphiques.

31) A noter du moins qu'en Yougoslavie (cf. les stèles funéraires ci-dessus signalées, p. 4. sqq.) des pommes de pins sortent parfois de feuillages qui n'ont aucun rapport avec les aiguilles des conifères.

32) M. L. Robert a tenu compte de cette documentation d'Occident, dans ses récentes études (*Hellenica*, 10, 1955, p. 247 sqq.) sur quelques autels couronnés de la pomme de pin: l'un prétendu de Thyatire, d'autres d'Akmonia (Phrygie). Je ne peux pas penser qu'il ait eu raison de récuser l'influence d'Attis, représenté par sa pomme de pin, sur les „autels” funéraires en cause, „autels” phrygiens = cippes; cf. *l.l.*, p. 253, n. 6, p. 254-255. Le souvenir d'Attis était assez attendu en Phrygie, l'une des patries du culte de Cybèle et de son jeune favori. Qu'il y ait eu en Phrygie (Akmonia) des monuments funéraires juifs décorés eux-mêmes (L. ROBERT, *l.l.* p. 253-254, n. 6 de la p. 253) de la pomme de pin, cela ne fournit pas un argument valable contre la carence d'un souvenir des cultes les plus propres au pays, même sans qu'on fasse intervenir une conversion possible, ou les traditions ornementales de la religion, ou des syncrétismes. L'Anatolie, en plusieurs de ses provinces, a connu les cippes funéraires (DOERNER, *Denkm. aus Bithynien*, n. 89, cité par L. Robert, *l.l.*). Et l'on s'apercevra de plus en plus que les cippes à pommes de pin, si fréquents en Dalmatie (Musée de Split) et ailleurs, ne sont pas moins abondants en Italie, malgré W. ALTMANN, *Die römischen Grabaltäre der Kaiserzeit*, 1905, p. 262, copié par L. ROBERT, *l.l.* (*Hellenica*, 10, 1955, p. 253, p. 6).

Utilisant les observations et les listes de Fr. Cumont³³⁾, M. P. Boyancé a beaucoup précisé déjà l'importance religieuse en Occident de la „*pigna*”, qui, on l'a noté, donne encore son nom à une partie des Jardins du Vatican, malgré les souvenirs païens qu'elle pourrait évoquer. Fr. Cumont avait bien vu de son côté³⁴⁾ la valeur de la pomme de pin comme symbole d'immortalité: «Le fruit du conifère dont la verdure n'est pas flétrie par les frimas, et qui est consacré à Attis, dieu défunt ramené à la vie, était dans tout le monde ancien l'emblème d'une renaissance à une vie nouvelle».

Les Attis — en pins ou en pommes de pin — de Yougoslavie nous donnent d'abord l'explication d'un monument jusqu'ici mal interprété que nous avons en France: c'est l'autel taurobolique, inscrit, de Vesunna (Périgueux)³⁵⁾, dont il ne paraît pas qu'on ait dégagé tout l'intérêt (ici, pl. I).

Cet autel, en pierre locale de Vesunna, haut de 1 m. 65, montre, sur la face latérale droite, un buste d'Attis, adolescent, drapé, qui est installé, semble-t-il, sur un autel portatif, *ara* recouverte d'une sorte de draperie frangée. Lui-même, l'Attis repose sur un piédestal. A sa gauche, on voit en partie un taureau agenouillé, dont l'arrière est dissimulé par l'autel. Attis est coiffé d'un bonnet phrygien sur lequel s'élève — semblant sortir de l'extrémité du bonnet — ce qu'E. Espérandieu n'avait pas bien vu —, un pin. Aux branches de cet arbre, sont accrochés deux fouets et des crotales; sur l'une des ramures est posé un oiseau. — Dans le champ, apparaît suspendu un bonnet phrygien richement brodé, avec fanons³⁶⁾; non loin, on voit une syrinx dans son étui, à sept roseaux.

Sur la face latérale gauche, a été représentée une tête de taureau parée d'*infulae*, une aiguière, une patère à manche, une harpe. Sur la face postérieure, est figurée une tête de bélier entre deux flûtes; au-dessous, un jeu de crotales.

33) P. 214-217, pl. 17.2.

34) Déjà, SCHRÖDER, *Bonner Jahrb.*, 180, 1902, *Studien zu den Grabdenkmäler der römischen Kaiserzeit*, p. 70-79 (Rhénanie); cf. une stèle en Bretagne à Carlisle (*CIL*, VII, 931; *Lapidarium septentrionale*, p. 251, no 497).

35) E. ESPÉRANDIEU, *Recueil*, II, 1267; cf. *Année épigraphique*, 1907, n° 138; *CIL*, XIII, 11042; H. GRAILLOT, *Culte de Cybèle*, p. 159, n° 2, n° 2 jj, et pl. II.

36) Le même bonnet figure dans le champ, à g., sur le relief du théâtre sacré des mystères de Cybèle à Vienne: *C.r. Acad.*, 1955, p. 229 sqq.

L'inscription est ainsi libellée ³⁷):

Numinib(us) Aug(usti) / et Magn(a)e Matri deum / Aug(ustae)
L(ucius) Pompon(ius) Sext(i) / Pompon(ii) Paterni / sacerd(otis)
arens(is) fil(ius) Quir(ina tribu) / Paterni / sacerd(otis) Arens(is)
fil(ius) Quir(ina tribu) / Paternus aram taurob(olicam) / posuit de-
dicavit / que ³⁸).

Donc Lucius Pomponius, fils de Sextius Pomponius Paternus, prêtre de l'autel, avait élevé cet autel de Vesunna; il l'avait dédié aux *numina* d'Auguste et à la Grande Mère des dieux, déesse auguste.

Le dédicant, un dirigeant municipal, est citoyen romain, inscrit comme on voit à la tribu Quirina, fils d'un prêtre de l'autel; donc, un personnage sacerdotal de la ville gallo-romaine. Le *cognomen* Paternus pourrait indiquer une descendance celtique, a-t-on dit ³⁹). Les mentions de filiation sont rares à Périgueux.

La dédicace d'un autel dit „taurobolique” à la Mère des dieux ne comporte pas nécessairement la preuve d'une célébration taurobolique ⁴⁰).

Certains critères proposés par M. J. J. Hatt feraient classer le monument au II^e s., sans qu'on doive descendre plus tard: au II^e s., le nom unique progresse en Aquitaine, tandis que l'indice de filiation tend à disparaître.

Il est assez rare, mais non insolite, comme on le verra ci-après, de trouver associés le buste d'Attis et le taureau. Le bonnet, on l'a noté, reparait sur le bas-relief sacrificiel julio-claudien de Vienne dont j'ai fourni l'explication exacte ⁴¹). On remarque aussi les fouets, et le pin sortant directement au dessus de la tête d'Attis. L'arbre avait été mis en relation intentionnelle avec la tête du jeune dieu: c'est qu'il était, on le rappelle, un symbole d'immortalité, à cause de la persistance de son feuillage en hiver, et parce que la pomme de pin, les aiguilles des conifères, passaient pour des fétiches de prolifération. De plus, c'était

37) Ligatures à toutes les lignes, sauf 7 et 8, *hederae distinguentes*; points ronds.

38) Le culte de la Grande-Mère, à Vesunna, était lié à celui de Rome et d'Auguste.

39) J. J. HATT, *La tombe gallo-romaine*, p. 28-29, p. 39.

40) A Metz, un personnage inconnu fait restaurer, en 199, un autel taurobolique, sur ordre de la Mère des dieux, *ob natalicium*; il y avait eu, peut-être, en raison de cette indication, un „baptême” célébré.

41) *Rev. archéol.*, 1946, II, p. 156, fig. 1.

sous un pin qu'Attis était censé être mort temporairement, pour s'être émasculé là, selon d'autres traditions. — On pensait d'ailleurs que le favori de Cybèle s'était métamorphosé en pin ⁴²). Attis est un dieu-arbre typique.

Ainsi l'arbre et son fruit cautionnaient, en Gaule aussi, l'immortalité céleste du fidèle.

Le taureau, plus difficile à expliquer à première vue, était, du moins, consacré aussi à Cybèle. C'est lui qu'on reconnaît p. ex., posé sur la poitrine et dans les bras de la déesse agraire de Mediana près Nisch ⁴³). Cybèle, premier personnage du couple divin, représentée ici par son „familier”, n'était-elle pas à l'origine de la résurrection de son jeune amant? Le taureau aussi symbolisait la naissance à une vie nouvelle. C'est par le sang du taurobole que l'initié devenait un nouvel homme, au jour de son *natalicium* ⁴⁴).

L'aspect religieux est souligné par le bonnet phrygien que porte l'Attis-pin, bonnet qui est répété dans le champ. Quant aux fouets, ils appartiennent aussi au matériel du culte; on sait que les mystes se flagellaient dans les cérémonies phrygiennes ⁴⁵). H. Graillet pensait que l'archigalle se servait de fouets „pour punir les Galles délinquants” ⁴⁶); mais il n'a pas bien vu le sens réel de ces rites: il ne s'agissait pas d'offrir à la divinité la primeur d'un châtiment sanglant, afin de préparer la mutilation sexuelle, comme on l'a dit ⁴⁷); il paraît établi ⁴⁸) qu'il n'y avait pas là un *ersatz*, une survivance atténuée, de sacrifices humains primitifs avec mise à mort. Au vrai, il y aurait eu plutôt antinomie: „La fustigation ... stimule l'énergie de celui qui est frappé, et, notamment, son pouvoir reproducteur. Le sacrifice, au

42) Ovide, *Métamorphoses*, X, 103-105; P. Fabre, *Mél. Ec. Rome*. 1923, p. 1 sqq; cf. le relief trouvé dans l'Attideion d'Ostie (Raissa CALZA, *Memorie Acc. Pontificia*, 1946 *ll.*, p. 223, fig. 25, N° 16), et l'ex-voto comparable, d'art assez barbare, qui provient de Glanum (1931): R. LANTIER, *Recueil Espérandieu, Suppl.*, 12, 1947, p. 11, n. 7851; cf. aussi F. CUMONT, *Comptes-rendus Acad.* 1945 p. 411.

43) H. GRAILLOT, *Culte de Cybèle*, *ll.*, p. 121; et, pour la déesse de Mediana-Nisch, cf. ci-dessus, p. 5.

44) Cf. Clément d'Alexandrie, *Protrept.*, 15, 1 (éd. Mondésert-Plassart, 1949, p. 71).

45) H. GRAILLOT, *Culte de Cybèle*, p. 127.

46) H. GRAILLOT, *ibid.*, p. 238, n. 5.

47) *Ibid.*, p. 127-129.

48) J. PRZYLUKI, *La grande déesse*, p. 28-33.

contraire, supprime la victime, tranche tout au moins le fil de sa vie terrestre. On ne peut guère faire dériver l'une de l'autre des pratiques aussi différentes" 49). Il est donc assez probable que la fustigation, connue aussi parmi les rites démétriâques 50) et dionysiaques, n'avait rien à voir avec les mises à mort de victimes. Elle devait déjà intervenir, semble-t-il, dans les plus vieux rituels thraco-phrygiens, pour stimuler la fécondité de la terre et celle des individus 51). Ainsi l'employaient et la conservaient encore les Luperques romains aux Lupercales, agitant des lanières taillées dans la peau de victimes animales, chèvres et boucs. — Ainsi la mettait-on en usage lors des mariages. J. Przyluski a cité un curieux passage d'Ovide, qui s'éclaire devant les peintures de la „Villa des Mystères" à Pompei: „Jeune mariée, qu'attends-tu? Ce n'est pas par des herbes au pouvoir surnaturel, ni par la prière, ni par les formules magiques, que tu enfanteras. Reçois tranquillement les coups de la main qui féconde, et bientôt, ton beau-père sera grand-père" 52).

L'autel de Vesunna est dans l'ensemble un témoin complexe et important de l'influence des cultes phrygiens en Gaule romaine. Mais on peut aussi penser éclairer là même, par le culte de l'Attis symbolique de Yougoslavie — pin ou pomme-de-pin — un autre objet de culte connu à l'Occident, et dont l'interprétation n'avait pas été jusqu'ici donnée de façon satisfaisante (ici, pl. IV, en haut).

E. Babelon et A. Blanchet 53) ont interprété en 1895, comme „poignée de porte ou de meuble", une applique en bronze de Bavai, conservée à la Bibliothèque Nationale à Paris, où il faut voir plutôt un objet rituel du culte des divinités phrygiennes. On peut comparer un exemplaire du musée de Berlin, trouvé précisément en même temps

49) J. PRZYLUSKI, *l.l.*, p. 30.

50) Culte de la Déméter Kidaria, à Phénée d'Arcadie, avec rituel de fustigation, voir ci-après n. 52.

51) Ch. PICARD, *Le geste de la prière funéraire*, *Rev. hist. relig.* 114, 1936, p. 136-157.

52) OVIDE, *Fastes*, II, v. 425 sqq., cité par J. PRZYLUSKI, *l.l.*, p. 105; sur l'importance de ce texte dans l'explication de la fustigation dionysiaque, à la Villa des Mystères, cf. Ch. PICARD, *Rev. arch.*, 1954, II, p. 96-102: on retrouve aussi d'autre part les usages de la fête majeure de Phénée, en Arcadie, où le prêtre de la Déméter Kidaris frappait le sol pour appeler les génies infernaux (Pausanias, 8, 15, 3).

53) *Catal. des bronzes antiques de la Bibl. Nationale*, p. 585, n° 1456: long. 0, 179; haut. 0, 071. Donné par Caylus au Roi de France: cf. Caylus, *Recueil* II, p. 397, et pl. 118, n° 6.

que divers objets rituels se rapportant au culte de Cybèle et de Sabazios ⁵⁴). C'est une plaque ajourée, avec au centre un buste de Cybèle, vu de face; la déesse est enveloppée jusqu'au col d'une robe piquetée; elle est coiffée, non pas d'une „couronne dentelée”, ainsi qu'on a cru, mais, comme on le peut voir, d'un simple diadème triangulaire, avec des prolongements latéraux donnant un peu l'impression d'un „bicorné”. Dans l'axe, la partie tympanale du diadème est décorée de quatre cercles pointés. La déesse, posée dans l'axe, regarde de face: la pupille de ses yeux, légèrement exorbités, est détaillée et creusée, selon la technique de l'époque impériale tardive. Cette Cybèle est encadrée de deux lions héraldiques, divergents, dont les queues recourbées lui forment, non au hasard, comme des pendants d'oreilles. La figuration dérive d'un prototype où la Mère des dieux portait sur ses bras ses deux félins, redoutables „familiers”; car ce sont les bras de la déesse écartés à angle droit qu'on attendait, là où l'on voit, à la place, les supports godronnés qui servent d'appui aux grands animaux, traditionnels gardiens du trône. Le plus curieux est qu'à l'extrémité de ces ornements ouvragés, sont soudés, non, comme on avait cru, des „bustes d'Atys (sic)” posés sur pommes de pin; mais deux Attis-pommes de pin, dont le buste est remplacé par un simple fleuron, et dont le fruit lobé du conifère constitue le corps, ovale à la partie inférieure, au-dessous de la ceinture. On connaissait dès l'époque archaïque des images divines comparables: telles les représentations de la déesse-abeille d'Ionie, Mélissa ⁵⁵), pourvue d'ailes, d'un buste humain, et d'un corselet d'abeille en dessous. Sur l'applique de Bavai, un embryon de bonnet phrygien culmine au-dessus des têtes des deux Attis-pommes-de-pin.

54) Deux exemplaires (No 15: inv. 8169-8170) de diadèmes avec images d'Attis et de Cybèle; cf. *Arch. Jahrb.*, Berlin, 7, 1892, *Anz.*, p. 111: trouvés avec un diptyque en bronze où l'on voit côte à côte sur profil courbe réunis jadis par une charnière, deux *naiskoi*, à profil courbe, jumeaux: l'un avec représentation de Cybèle, entre Hermès et Attis, l'autre avec représentation de Sabazios. Ainsi que je le montre ailleurs (*Monum. Piot.*, 49, 1957) à propos d'une plaquette inédite en stuc du Musée du Caire (*naiskos* de Cybèle), la trouvaille de Rome à Berlin nous conserve les éléments d'une ornementation sacrée: la „grande tenue sacerdotale” d'un prêtre de Cybèle: les deux *naiskoi* devaient appartenir à un *occabos* (profil courbe); sur le bandeau du diadème paraît Attis entre deux Cybèles (diam. 0.18).

55) Ch. PICARD, *Ephèse et Claros*, 1922, s.v. *Melissa*; *id.*, *REA*, 42, 1940 (*Mél. Radet*), p. 270-284; Gennaro PESCE, *Bull. Soc. royale archéol. Alexandrie*, 10, 1939, p. 221-280, III; Michel FEYEL, *Rev. arch.*, 1946, I, p. 5 sqq. (SMÉNAI).

Le rapprochement avec les stèles funéraires de Yougoslavie où la déesse mère figure au fronton, tandis que l'arbre sacré d'Attis, double ou triple, ou bien la pomme de pin, seule, soulignent et définissent sa présence, est explicatif.

Ainsi que l'ont remarqué les éditeurs de 1895, pour l'applique de Bavai, il s'agit d'une figuration typique usuelle et, semble-t-il, recherchée. Car on a trouvé des ornements comparables en Belgique (région de Namur), et ailleurs. Il serait intéressant de cataloguer et réétudier en détail ces pièces instructives, d'après leurs provenances ⁵⁶). Jusqu'en Afrique, on peut remarquer certains objets de culte dont l'explication s'éclaire par les trouvailles des Balkans.

M. R. Thouvenot a eu à signaler les appliques ⁵⁷) du type de Bavai, et il s'est occupé plusieurs fois lui-même du culte de Cybèle — Attis, à propos de trouvailles faites au Maroc, tant à Volubilis qu'à Banasa ⁵⁸). Nous lui sommes particulièrement redevables de la publication d'un certain „disque sacré” trouvé à Volubilis; il représente une ciste en vannerie, du type de celles qui devaient servir dans les mystères phrygiens ⁵⁹): la ciste est entourée de tous côtés par des pommes de pin et des feuillages (de roseaux?) rappelant les motifs d'accompagnement des pommes de pin sur les stèles de Yougoslavie. On se reportera au judicieux commentaire de M. R. Thouvenot, qui a vu

⁵⁶) Il y en a à Saint-Germain-en-Laye (Mus. Antiq. nationales); cf. Sal. REINACH, *Descript. raisonnée, Bronzes figurés*, p. 334, n° 431; à Bruxelles (Musées d'art et d'histoire). — Cf. aussi, Coll. J. Gréau, *Bronzes antiques*, 1885, p. 18, n° 63. Nul doute que la liste à établir un jour ait chance de devenir assez vite copieuse.

⁵⁷) *Public. du Service des Antiquités du Maroc*, 8, 1948, p. 145-153, pl. II (à g.): cf. p. 148. „Une curieuse sculpture trouvée à Anthée, près de Dinant, et reproduite à plusieurs exemplaires en Belgique et dans le Nord de la France, montre, encadrant Cybèle, deux têtes d'Attis qui semblent sortir d'une pomme de pin”. On corrigera les indications données d'après la description ci-dessus. L'applique d'Anthée est celle qui est entrée au Musée de St. Germain-en-Laye (ci-dessus, n. 56).

⁵⁸) Pour le „disque sacré” de Volubilis, cf. ci-après. — Pour l'Attis dansant de Banasa (petit bronze pleine), identifié par la première fois *Rev. arch.*, 1947, I, p. 229-231, cf. ci-après (R. THOUVENOT, *Publ. du Service des Antiquités du Maroc*, 1951, p. 25-26, p. 113-123). Pour l'Attis criophore, en bronze, de Volubilis, cf. aussi R. THOUVENOT, *Publ. Service Maroc*, 8, 1948, p. 165 sqq., pl. XI, 2).

⁵⁹) On comparerait aussi les cistes des mystères dionysiaques, de ceux de Déméter: Ch. PICARD, *Rev. arch.* 1954, I, p. 228-229 (à propos de la statuette No 807 de Stamboul, et d'une plaque d'argile de la Glyptothèque de Copenhague: cistes cultuelles en vannerie, et non „trésors sacrés”).

à bon droit, semble-t-il, dans le disque une sorte d'amulette; peut-être aussi un *signum*, tessère d'initié (*l.l.*, p. 151-153). Quoiqu'il en soit, la valeur religieuse et symbolique des représentations de ce modèle n'est pas douteuse: la ciste évoque Cybèle, la pomme de pin Attis.

Nous ne pouvons qu'indiquer sommairement ici les voies ouvertes par les comparaisons culturelles qu'on peut faire désormais d'Est en Ouest. Elles apportent parfois des solutions nouvelles, et résolvent à l'occasion certains litiges. On voit s'attester mieux, d'autre part, une aire de diffusion très élargie, et ainsi l'influence lointaine des cultes phrygiens, répandus un jour de l'Anatolie à l'Occident, jusqu'aux Colonnes d'Hercule ⁶⁰). Mais peut-être y a-t-il plus encore intérêt à marquer ici l'importance de nos constatations pour ce qui intéresse les aspects d'Attis.

J'ai déjà fait noter ailleurs combien le type et le culte de ce favori de la déesse-mère s'était curieusement transformé à l'époque hellénistique, et qu'il s'était rapproché en particulier de celui de Dionysos ⁶¹); en Italie, à Cyzique, à Alexandrie, au Maroc, nous constatons une imagerie nouvelle, significative, et certaines affinités, peut-être intronisées par l'Eumolpide Timotheos; la lutte du paganisme contre le christianisme à dû les renforcer, en tout cas ⁶²).

60) Pour les sanctuaires lusitaniens, p. ex., consacrés à Cybèle et Attis, cf. maintenant — outre H. GRAILLOT, *Le Culte de Cybèle*, 1912, p. 171 et 174 — Scarlat LAMBRINO, *Bulletin des Ét. portugaises et de l'Institut français au Portugal*, 17, 1953, p. 100 sqq.

61) Cf. *Mémorial G. P. Oikonomos*, I (*Arch. Ephem.*, 1953-1954, paru en 1955, p. 1-8), mes remarques sur le curieux type d'Attis *enfant*, dont nous avons maintenant diverses attestations inattendues: *Dionysos Pais et Attis enfant*. Une inscription de Cyzique-Panderma, à Constantinople-Stamboul (G. Mendel, *Cat. Const.* III, 1914, p. 67-69, No 856 (270), montre d'autre part un Dionysos sous l'aspect d'un prince hellénistique armé; dédicace Διονύσω "Ατρου 'Ηλίου. Il y a eu des Attis en costume militaire. Pour l'Attis Menotyrannos, seigneur de la lyre, cf. K. KERÉNYI, *Miti e misteri*, 1950, p. 368. — Pour Attis et le théâtre, cf. Ch. PICARD, *Comptes-rend. Acad. Inscr.*, 1955, p. 229-248 à propos du théâtre des mystères de Cybèle et Attis à Vienne (Isère), récemment découvert. Je ne partage pas en tous points le scepticisme restrictif de M. E. WILL, *Le relief culturel gréco-romain*, 1955, qui reprend, p. 197, les anciennes qualifications d'Eros funéraires, en bien des cas où l'identification d'Attis s'impose (cf. p. ex., fig. 33, p. 198: relief d'Andernach; Attis funéraires accompagnés des lions de Cybèle; le doublement n'est pas plus étrange que sur les appliques, certainement métroaques, de Bavai (Paris) et Rome (Berlin), etc.).

62) Un Timothéos (probablement l'Eumolpide d'Eleusis) avait composé un traité sur le culte de Cybèle et d'Attis, écrit auquel Arnobe (*Adv. nat.*, 5,5) a fait encore allusion, et qu'on peut dater vraisemblablement du temps de Ptolé-

Le point de départ de telles métamorphoses est certainement à placer au début de l'époque hellénistique, dans un renouvellement du culte: quand les légendes de Déméter, d'Isis, d'Agdistis, de Cybèle, sans fusionner véritablement, revêtirent certains aspects plus rapprochés et comparables, sans doute sous l'influence du travail syncrétiste des théologiens de l'époque, et probablement dans les milieux cosmopolites d'Alexandrie, de Pergame, etc., intéressés à ces contaminations et aux rapprochements à la mode ⁶³).

A l'époque hellénistique, l'iconographie d'Attis n'a pas moins évolué, comme on peut voir désormais, que les péripéties de sa légende obscure ⁶⁴). S'il n'a pas pris lui-même tous les aspects des trois âges de la vie, tel Dionysos, tantôt barbu d'abord et adulte, tantôt adolescent imberbe, et enfin revenu à l'enfance sous les aspects, p. ex., du *Pais* du Sarapieion de Memphis et d'ailleurs ⁶⁵), — Attis apparaît aussi suffisamment polymorphe, alors. Le favori d'Agdistis, dont le mythe amoureux avait été empreint du brutal et cruel sexualisme fami-

mée Ier, fils de Lagos: prince dont l'Eumolpide Timothéos était le conseiller religieux (cf. M. P. NILSSON, *Gesch. griech. Relig.*, II, 1950, p. 614, n. 6).

63) Cf. là-dessus, déjà, p. ex. Th. ZIELINSKI, *La Sibylle*, 1924, p. 59, et pour le mythe et les mystères d'Attis, spécialement, p. 76-86. On a fait certaines réserves justifiées sur le rôle prêté parfois à l'Eumolpide Timothéos d'Eleusis dans ces arrangements: il ne faut là-dessus, ni exagérer, ni céder à l'hypercritique; il est sûr que ce spécialiste, „expert” sacerdotal, avait été mandé à Alexandrie par Ptolémée Ier à titre de conseiller spécialement et non par hasard. Comme le relevait déjà Th. ZIELINSKI, *ll.*, p. 83, Arnobe a nommé Timothéos, à propos de la transformation du culte d'Attis. — Au début du III^e s., certains mystères, dont ceux d'Ephèse, p. ex. (P. ROUSSEL, *BCH*, 51, 1927, p. 132, n. 2) ont été aussi réformés cà et là en d'autres centres du Proche-Orient: ceux d'Ephèse, p. ex., sous l'influence de Lysimaque, gendre et allié de Ptolémée Ier). Ici et là, il y a donc des indices d'un travail plus ou moins généralisé.

64) Pour les rapports d'Attis avec Agdistis et Cybèle, de la période primitive à la période romaine, cf. notamment Th. ZIELINSKI, *La Sibylle*, I.1.; mais les sources alléguées sont tardives: Arnobe, Firmicus Maternus. Elles ne permettent guère encore de tirer au clair l'évolution du mythe. On a perdu l'ouvrage consacré au IV^e s. av. J.-C. par le Cyzicène Néanthès à Attis, favori des deux déesses phrygiennes; non moins le traité de Proclo, qui, mort en 485 à 75 ans, avait encore composé sur la Mère des dieux sa *Βίβλος μητροφακή*.

65) Cf. J. Ph. LAUER et Ch. PICARD, *Les statues ptolémaïques du Sarapieion de Memphis*, 1955, p. 173 sqq., pl. 17 sqq. Il n'y a pas lieu d'hésiter, comme l'a fait récemment encore M. K. SCHEFOLD, (*Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 11 mai 1956, et *Mus. helvet.* 14. 1, p. 33-38), sur la date des ensembles du *Dromos*, qui ne sont explicables — statues de l'exèdre et groupe des animaux sacrés — qu'à l'époque ptolémaïque. Les statues retrouvées par A. Mariette ne peuvent avoir été aucunement des copies romaines, d'après des originaux perdus (?).

lier à l'Orient ⁶⁶), ne se contentait plus, après le temps d'Alexandre, d'être le bel adolescent terrestre chéri des déesses amoureuses; il est devenu ailé ou aptère; et, tel Dionysos, il retourne aussi occasionnellement à l'enfance; ce qui était fort inattendu, il le faut bien noter, d'après le caractère de sa légende essentielle de séducteur. Il prend, au vrai, toute espèce d'habits, autant que de formes. Caractérisé par ses anaxyrides orientales et le factice dévoilement (intentionnel) de son ventre, assez à l'ordinaire ⁶⁷), il est parfois aussi entièrement drapé et chastement vêtu, comme sur un brûle-parfum de Tarse ⁶⁸).

Ses poses sont aussi des plus diverses: tantôt debout et frontal, appuyé contre un pilier, et coiffé d'un chapiteau, tel qu'il apparaissait plus ou moins lié à l'arbre, en image, pour certaines cérémonies, — il croise volontiers, ailleurs, les jambes, adoptant le geste nonchalant dont le Pothos scopasique avait déterminé la mode au IV^e s. av. J.C.

Cette figuration s'est retrouvée de l'Orient à l'Occident ⁶⁹); elle correspond, notons-le, à celle des types des acolytes mithriaques, comme les Cautopatès, connus de Mérida à Cologne ⁷⁰). Tantôt Attis est assis, en berger surveillant ses ouailles ⁷¹); tantôt il est couché, tel un génie fluvial: comme, lorsqu'ayant fui les colères jalouses d'Agdistis, il s'étend sous un sapin, pour se mutiler et mourir temporairement ⁷²).

66) Th. ZIELINSKI, *l.l.*, p. 76.

67) Bronze de Maryza près d'Andriopole, au Louvre.

68) Brûle-parfum en terre-cuite du Louvre: L. HEUZEY, *Les figurines antiques de terre cuite du Louvre*, 1883, pl. 37; id., *Les fragments de Tarse au Musée du Louvre*, *Gaz. B.-Arts*, 16, 1876, p. 398 sqq.; R. THOUVENOT, *Publ. Service Maroc*, 9, 1951, p. 113-123, pl. 27.

69) Nombreux types en Yougoslavie, en Anatolie (ci dessus, n. 61, p. 18 pour les réserves de M. E. Will); autres à Narbonne et Toulouse (M. RENARD, *Latomus*, XI, 1952, fasc. 1, p. 59 sqq.)

70) Pour le Cautopatès de Mérida, p. ex., cf. A. GARCIA y BELLIDO, *Esculturas romanas de España y Portugal*, 1949, p. 120, n° 120, pl. 94. — Cautopatès de Cologne: cf. Fritz FREMERSDORF, *Mémorial... Rhénanie*, 1951, 1953, p. 115, fig. 39. Ce n'est pas, tant s'en faut, le seul contact qu'on pourrait observer entre les documents mithriaques et phrygiens, dans l'imagerie et le culte; cf. maintenant Ernest WILL, *Le relief culturel gréco-romain*, 1955, p. 193 sqq.

71) P. PERDRIZET, *Bull. corr. hellén.*, 1877, p. 514, pl. 5-8: figurations d'Attis bergers, à la *syrix* et au *pedum* (comme ceux d'Amphipolis: terres cuites funéraires). Autres à Olynthos. Il s'agit bien d'Attis à mon sens; et c'est le cas, aussi, pour le personnage de Tégée (Perdrizet, *l.l.*, pl. 7). Vouloir, avec M. Will, faire de ces personnages de simples „serviteurs” habillés à l'asiatique, me paraît téméraire; cf. *Rev. arch.*, 1947, I, p. 229.

72) Cf. une représentation de l'*Attideion* d'Ostie; Raissa CALZA (ci-dessus, p. 1 n. 1); Fr. CUMONT, *Les religions orientales dans le paganisme romain*, 2e éd. —

Avec le rajeunissement insolite, la particularité la plus curieuse est la présence adventice des ailes, que l'on constate aussi d'Orient en Occident: p. ex. de Cyzique⁷³) et Tarse, jusqu'à Banasa au Maroc, ailleurs encore⁷⁴). Rien n'est plus significatif que ce symbolisme pour un dieu, qui, associé avec Cybèle, était devenu, en même temps que surhomme, un σωτήρ, promettant l'immortalité à ses fidèles. Les ailes garantissaient — non moins que le bonnet étoilé, parfois surmonté d'un croissant, ou la haute tiare portée par les adolescents de Baltimore ou de New-York⁷⁵) — l'immortalité céleste: „*Animam sacer abstulit aer*”,

Attis couché de Tarse; L. HEUZEY, *Gaz. B.-A.*, 1876, II, p. 385; Fr. CUMONT, *Textes et Monuments relatifs aux mystères de Mithra*, II, n° 338, p. 437-438. L'Attis couché de l'*Attideion* d'Ostie, maintenant remis en place, s'accoude sur une tête de dieu-fleuve: Gallos ou Sangarios, et non: „Dionysos barbu,” comme le voulait F. Cumont. — Attis meurt (temporairement) au bord de la source (rénovatrice) des eaux. De là, la figuration des joncs, dans les représentations rituelles (cf. celle de l'*Attideion* d'Ostie). Attis était né d'une conception miraculeuse; Nana sa mère était elle-même fille du Sangarios. Il avait été „exposé” près du fleuve; selon un poète romain d'époque tardive, Publius Optatianus Porphyrio, Attis aurait d'abord grandi sous la forme du jonc.

73) Pour Cyzique, Ch. PICARD et MACRIDY-Bey, *Bull. corresp. hellén.*, 45, 1921, p. 436 sqq. (avec mention des types déjà connus ailleurs). — Pour Banasa (Maroc), Ch. PICARD, *Rev. arch.*, 1947, I, p. 229-231 (identification du type); R. THOUVENOT, *Publ. Service Maroc*, 9, 1951, p. 113-123, pl. 25-26. J'ai fait remarquer récemment, à propos de certaines lampes égyptisantes de Volubilis et Banasa (*Rev. arch.*, 1955, I, 1, p. 63 sqq.), que maints petits bronzes retrouvés dans la capitale de Juba II en Maurétanie tingitane (Volubilis), ou ailleurs dans la même région, devaient avoir été des importations alexandrines. On retrouve les mêmes lampes de bronze, exportées, en Dalmatie, à Aquileia, Marseille, etc. Il est naturel que l'Égypte ptolémaïque et romaine ait connu et vénéré un Attis ailé danseur. Des Attis ailés, bien identifiés, ont été signalés au Musée d'Alexandrie (H. GRAILLOT, *Culte de Cybèle*, 1912, p. 414, n. 3). Les usages des danseurs d'Attis étaient venus jusqu'en Occident, à Rome même, après 197 av. J.C., où les „*sodales ballatores Cybelae*” menaient leurs pieuses sarabandes, à la fête des *Hilaria* (H. GRAILLOT, *l.l.*, p. 302-304).

74) Ci-dessus, n. 73 (références données à l'occasion de l'Attis de Banasa). Les doutes émis sur le caractère „attidien” de ces figures, qu'on persiste parfois à appeler des *Eros*, ne sont nullement convaincants; on connaît en effet ces mêmes personnages dans le *Mêtrôn* cyzicène.

75) Pour l'Attis enfant de Baltimore (bronze), cf. miss Dorothy Kent HILL, *Catal. of class. bronze sculpt. in the Walter Art Gallery*, 1949, No 49, pl. 13, en haut. M. H. SEYRIG doit publier le moyen bronze, très comparable, de New York: cf. déjà *Syria*, 28, 1951, p. 117-118, n.l. de la p. 118. M. H. Seyrig relève là l'indication qui lui a été donnée, selon laquelle ces pièces toutes proviendraient d'Égypte. — Sur la valeur symbolique du bonnet étoilé, le rôle donné à partir de l'époque des religions astrales et cosmologiques, à Attis, comme dieu du ciel, cf. M. P. NILSSON, *Gesch. gr. Religion*, II, 1950, p. 628.

peut-on l're sur un cippe de Dalmatie, où figure le favori phrygien d'Agdistis et de Cybèle ⁷⁶). Le Dionysos hellénistique était parfois devenu ou revenu ailé aussi. Le *Recueil* Espérandieu a signalé à Narbonne ⁷⁷) un relief sur lequel un Dionysos ailé — plutôt qu'„Eros", comme on le dit ordinairement — pose la main sur l'épaule du dieu phrygien: on a pensé, sans doute à tort, qu'Attis s'identifiait là avec un défunt; même si le relief est funéraire, il n'est pas nécessaire de le supposer. L'association des deux génies sauveurs de l'âme ailée, n'en serait pas moins significative.

Cette complexité de la néo-iconographie attidienne n'est pas, comme on le pressent, un fait isolé. A l'époque hellénistique, Dionysos, Mithra, bien d'autres entités supraterrrestres, ont vu ici et là leur type compliqué et diversifié, d'ailleurs avec indépendance. Ces enrichissements, de l'automne du paganisme, correspondaient à l'image visuelle que les fidèles percevaient dans les épisodes du culte et au théâtre des mystères phrygiens. Par exemple, nous savons qu'on liait à l'arbre des figurations iconiques d'Attis jeune, pour certaines cérémonies d'initiation ⁷⁹); ce qui évoquait au mieux la puissance magique du dieu-arbre, qui savait braver l'hiver et la mort, et pouvait ainsi assurer la survie à ses fidèles.

Or, il est curieux de constater, d'autre part, qu'à l'époque hellénistique et romaine, à côté du type anthropomorphe d'Attis, si varié qu'il apparaisse, l'aspect symbolique du dieu-arbre se maintient, et

⁷⁶) *CIL.*, III, 6384; cf. HEPDING, *Attis*, 1903, p. 86, n°. 25.

⁷⁷) I, n° 624: Musée de Lamourguier. — Haut. o. 58; larg. o. 62; épais. env. o. 50. Le relief a été retiré des remparts de Narbonne en 1837.

⁷⁸) E. ESPÉRANDIEU, *Recueil I, ll.*, suivi par M. M. RENARD, *Latomus*, II, 1952, I, p. 62.

⁷⁹) Firmicus Maternus, cité par Th. ZIELINSKI, *La Sibylle*, p. 81-82. L'arbre était un sapin. Il y avait, d'après le même informateur, un simulacre de mise à mort des candidats à l'initiation, que l'on enterrait jusqu'au col, tandis qu'on exécutait dans l'ombre de la crypte des chants funèbres. L'enterrement jusqu'au col évoquait aussi la plantation de l'arbre sacré. Selon la tradition relative à Agdistis-Attis, le corps d'Attis mort, sur la prière d'Agdistis à Zeus, était resté intact. Ses cheveux continuaient à pousser, son petit doigt à remuer (tombeau de Pessinonte). La future reviviscence du dieu-arbre était ainsi annoncée, pendant le temps de deuil correspondant à la léthargie hivernale des plantes, temps où la verdure du sapin ne périssait pas, par privilège de la nature. Sur les variations de la légende d'Attis, sur les mystères d'Attis et de Cybèle, en ce qui touche à la promesse de la reviviscence — en supplément des ouvrages généraux indiqués ici tout d'abord —, on se reportera maintenant à M. P. NILSSON, *Gesch. gr. Rel.*, II 1950, p. 616 sqq., p. 527.

même se répand. Une figuration, sinon *aniconique*, du moins tirée du règne végétal — celle du pin-dieu, et de la simple pomme de pin, représentant le coeur ou la tête d'Attis ⁸⁰) — gagne, dirait-on, du terrain, du Proche Orient à l'Occident. Elle suscite ou autorise le doublement, le triplement de la représentation divine, ce qui eût été moins facile avec le type de l'Attis berger, par exemple, toujours plus ou moins isolé, à ma connaissance. On pourrait poser la question — difficile à résoudre — de savoir si le type anthropomorphique, et le type qu'on peut appeler „végétal”, étaient réservés, l'un et l'autre, à une clientèle spéciale de dévots: par exemple, ville et campagne? En tout cas, il n'est guère de divinité pour laquelle on ait, mieux que pour Attis, la preuve tangible de la dualité des figurations, voire de leur parallélisme. L'époque hellénistique avait, là encore, fait reparaître, et développé — dans une civilisation redevenue cosmopolite, comme celle de la Méditerranée orientale au temps des Préhellènes — l'aspect „primitiviste” comme on dit, de la représentation du dieu-arbre ⁸¹), ou „dieu dans l'arbre”.

80) Pour la pomme de pin comme *tête et coeur* d'Attis à la fois, cf. ci-dessus, n. 23. En Egypte, le pin avait servi aussi d'abri-sépulture à Osiris; cf. Firmicus Maternus, cité par M. P. NILSSON, *Gesch. d. gr. Rel.*, II, p. 613, n. 1.

81) Cf. Ch. PICARD, *Mana, Les Religions préhelléniques*, 1948, s.v.: *arbre; dieu, déesse, dans l'arbre*. Je compte reprendre l'étude de ce thème à travers la religion grecque. Pour l'Orient et l'Inde, cf. les publications de M.lle H. DANTHINE, *Le palmier-dattier et les arbres sacrés*, 1937; de M.lle O. VEINNOT, *Le culte de l'arbre dans l'Inde ancienne*, 1954 (nombreuses comparaisons possibles avec le culte d'Attis).

ANCIENT INDIAN KINGSHIP FROM THE RELIGIOUS POINT OF VIEW

(continued *)

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XII

Coming now to the religious rites in the performance of which the king took part, it must first be emphasized that the Indian ruler was no priest-king. A strict distinction is, generally speaking, drawn between the royal and priestly functions. Yet the monarch is advised to celebrate several rites and festivals, meant to avert national calamities and to promote the public welfare⁴⁷²). In a sense a 'priestly' or 'spiritual' function of the monarch may be attributed to the activity ascribed to the king in the Atharvaveda⁴⁷³), where he is said to defend or protect the kingdom by *brahmacarya*-, i.e. study of the Veda, continence and chastity, and *tapas*-, i.e. 'asceticism'. By the same means, the text continues, the gods warded off death. By brahmacarya alone Indra gained heaven for the gods. He who practises brahmacarya is Prajāpati, that is the god who "rules widely" (*vi-rāj-*), and the *virāj-* became the controlling Indra. The conclusion might be that the king, when practising brahmacarya, identifies himself with the lord of creation, Prajāpati, bearing rule widely and becoming Indra.

Of the many festivals and celebrations in honour of various gods mentioned in this connection⁴⁷⁴), I only recall to memory the *nīrājanā*⁴⁷⁵), the lustration of horses and arms, performed by kings

*) See *Numen* III/1956, p. 36 ff. and p. 122 ff.

472) The festivals were of course also to afford enjoyment to the people and to keep them in good humour.

473) AV. II, 5, 17.

474) For a brief survey and some references see KANE, *o.c.*, III, p. 234.

475) For a discussion of the, not always identical, ceremonies known as *nīrājanā* or *nīrājana* see H. LOSCH, in *Beiträge zur indischen Phil. u. Altertumskunde (Festschrift-W. Schubring)*, Hamburg 1951, p. 51 ff.

before taking the field. This ceremony which is only known to us from post-Vedic sources, and which was executed for the benefit of gods and their images, of brahmans, kine and other valuable animals, was, according to the legend, instituted by king Ajāpāla when his subjects implored him to give them a means of warding off all pains and diseases. The ceremony is, on the authority of some texts, executed by the king himself, who at night lustrates Viṣṇu with lights, the cows and so on, offers fruits, flowers and various auspicious objects to Viṣṇu, his spouse Lakṣmī and other deities, and together with his priests and ministers, adores his horses, elephants and the insignia of royalty. After that a woman of auspicious marks, a harlot, or a woman of a good family—all of them radiating, in a magical way, happiness—, should swing a specified light over or around the king's head, to the accompaniment of the formula: "Annihilation of evil influences (*śānti-*) and prosperity to you, the brahmans and your people." Thereupon the king proceeds to lustrate the army. Illumined by the rays of many jewels, which no doubt assist him in expelling the demons, wearing a white garland, shining like the sun and showing the lustre of the rainbow, the ruler marches amid his men like Indra amid the victorious soldiers. If this ceremony takes place every year all diseases in the kingdom are destroyed, the enemies will be defeated and there will be plenty of food. Now that the capital is free from evil influences the king must, at midnight, take a walk through that town in order to watch the festivities. It may parenthetically be observed that there are also different forms of *nīrājanā* ⁴⁷⁶).

It is not possible, for reasons of space, to dwell upon other lustrations as, for instance, that connected with the erection of the *Mārga-pālī* "the Road-protectress", and the king's rôle in their performance. Suffice it to say that they form part of a series of ceremonies related to the cult of the demon Bali who, dwelling in the subterranean regions,

476) Losch, *o.c.*, p. 53 "...zwei verschiedene Zeremonien..., von denen die eine durch das Wassersprengen charakterisiert ist, während die andere in Lichterschwingen ihren Mittelpunkt hat. In den Bereich der ersten Zeremonie fielen wohl zunächst die Vorbereitungen von Kriegszügen mit der daran beteiligten Tieren und Personen und Waffen um sie gegen den Feind zu feien, während die zweite Zeremonie der Bezauberung der Kriegswerkzeuge durch Anwendung von Feuer diente. Neben dieser *Nīrājanā* gibt es noch die einfache Verehrung eines Götterbildes durch Lichterschwenken..... (p. 58). Dies ist das *Nīrājana*, das der Abwehr des Schrecklichen dient und das Gedeihen fördert".

was believed to exert influence upon vegetation. The king himself, accompanied by his purohita and praised by bards and eulogists, must adore this demon⁴⁷⁷) and offer four different kinds of lotus flowers which, as is well-known, represent moisture, vegetation and fertility. The formula addressed to the Mārgapālī shows us the character of the feast: "Mārgapālī, adoration to Thou that givest happiness to the whole world; under Thee my horses, elephants and cows may be happy"⁴⁷⁸). It is also the task of the king to pronounce a formula containing the wish that he would live among cows and imploring Lakṣmī in the appearance of a cow to yield milk for sacrifices and to annihilate 'sin'. The *yaṣṭikākarṣaṇa*- or "drawing on a string or rope"⁴⁷⁹) is another of the following ceremonies in which the king has to take a part personally: this religious game served to ward off evil and, what seems to be a more original feature, to generate useful power for the sake of vegetation. The parties concerned in tugging the rope are men of low caste, i.e. peasants and, in general, those who labour in the field, and the rājputs or nobility. If the former win, the king is considered to have won. This feature significantly shows, once again, the intimate relation between the king and the cultivation of the soil.

As is well known religious feasts were often accompanied by theatrical performances. Now it is a significant fact that the wealthy patron who according to our sources usually caused a play to be produced often was the king himself. Although marriages, victories, accession to the throne etc. were among the occasions for performing a play, the spring festivities, celebrated for the sake of a fruitful year, are very often mentioned in this connection. In the *Ratnāvalī* the king even appears on the stage, in attire suited to the spring festival for which the drama was intended, pronouncing, inter alia, the words: "The enemies of the kingdom have been subdued, the subjects are fondled by vigilant protection and freed from all diseases; let the god of love (i.e. of procreation) enjoy satisfaction; this great festival is mine own"⁴⁸⁰). Before the play is performed an Indra banner,

477) Cf. MEYER, *Trilogie* II, p. 186 ff.

478) Cf. MEYER, *Trilogie* II, p. 160 ff.

479) May we infer from the name that the ceremony originally consisted in drawing a pole? For particulars, MEYER, *o.c.*, II, p. 181 ff.

480) *Harṣa*, *Ratn.* I, 10. See also my *Ursprung und Wesen des indischen Dramas*, *Acta Or.* 19, esp. p. 362 ff.

also called *jarjara-*, is to be erected, in order to destroy the enemies of the performance—i.e. those evil beings who wish to interfere with its salutary effect—, and to bring victory and prosperity to the king ⁴⁸¹). In another passage the same banner, being identified with Indra's demon-slaying vajra, is implored to bring victory to the ruler and defeat to his enemies, welfare to the cows and brahmans, and progress to dramatic undertakings ⁴⁸²). A stage which is properly consecrated brings good luck to the king ⁴⁸³). Among the benedictions to be recited when a play is acted are such as bless the brahmans, the state and the king, or wish King Soma victory, health and enjoyment ⁴⁸⁴).

Another festivity which is largely the king's concern is that of Indra's tree or banner, a fertility ceremony par excellence ⁴⁸⁵). When the standard, that "source of vigour" which drives away all evil powers, and which in the days of yore was presented to the gods by Viṣṇu the lord of Śrī, the life essence of all living beings himself, is to be erected, when hymns to Indra and Viṣṇu are sung, and many auspicious rites have been performed, the king should without breaking his fast, recite some auspicious stanzas. Thereby his subjects will be contented, free from danger and illness, and have abundance of food.

In these ceremonies we find that not only the purohita and the astrologer, but also the king are marked out emphatically from other people by the functions which they have to perform. According to parts of our sources ⁴⁸⁶) the monarch and his chaplain (the brahman) should bathe, put on new and unwashed clothes, anoint themselves with sweet-smelling unguents of an excellent kind, in a mood becoming to the religious action, observing their vows, and without breaking their fast, celebrate together the festival known as *indramaha-* or *indramahotsava-*, i.e. Indra's feast. The purohita should take hold of the king with his hand—a well-known gesture intended to transfer

481) Bhāratiya Nāṭyaśāstra 3, 81 (73) *jayam cābhyudayaṃ caiva pārthivasya samāvaha*. The *jarjara-* is "a divine weapon with which all destroyers of a play are made *jarjara-*, i.e. beaten and broken" (ibid. 1, 71 ff.).

482) Ibid. 3, 11 ff.

483) Ibid. 3, 93 (85).

484) Ibid. 5, 107 ff. (99 ff.).

485) For a discussion, see MEYER, *Trilogie* III, and also my "*Aspects of early Viṣṇuism*", p. 256.

486) Atharvaveda-pariśiṣṭa 19, 3; Kauśika-sūtra 140.

'holy power' — and pour the oblation into the fire. The stanzas accompanying this rite run as follows: "Hither do we call Indra from yonder, who is kine-conquering, riches-conquering, horse-conquering... 487); the saviour (*trātāram*) Indra, the helper Indra, the hero Indra, of easy call—I now call the mighty (*śakra-*), much-called Indra; let the bounteous (*maghavan-*) Indra make well-being for us 488); let Indra be well-saving, well-aiding with aids, very gracious, all-possessing; let him remove hatred; let him make for us safety; may we be rich in heroic sons 489); increase, O Indra, this kṣatriya for me; make thou this man sole chief of the people; unman all his enemies; make them subject to him in the contests for pre-eminence 490); chief (*vṛṣan-* "bull") of Indra, chief of heaven, chief of earth is this man, chief of all existence; do thou be sole chief 491); Indra will (is expected to) conquer, he will not be conquered, overlord among kings he will rule; (and with the second part of the stanza as found in the *Taittirīya-saṃhitā*): in all conflicts he will be a protector, that he will be revered and honoured" 492). With these stanzas, the purport of which is very easily understood, and with a collection of verses called *rāṣṭrasaṃvargāḥ* 493), i.e. "those which serve to acquire a kingdom", Indra (i.e. the tree representing him) is raised 494). Whilst they carefully prevent the god from falling, a stanza is recited which in the Atharvaveda forms part of a series of verses used in a rite to establish a man in sovereignty: "I have taken thee; thou hast become within; stand thou fixed, not unsteady; let all people want thee; let not the kingdom be lost to thee" 495); this is followed by: "firm is the sky, firm is the earth..., firm (shall) this king of the people (be)" 496) and "let all the people want thee." It

487) Cf. RV. Khila 10, 128, 1; AV. 5, 3, 11; TS. 4, 7, 14, 4 etc.

488) Cf. RV. 6, 47, 11; AV. 7, 86, 1; TS. 1, 6, 12, 5 etc.

489) Cf. RV. 6, 47, 12; AV. 7, 91, 1; TS. 1, 7, 13, 4 etc.

490) Cf. AV. 4, 22, 1; TB. 2, 4, 7, 7.

491) Cf. AV. 6, 86, 1.

492) Cf. AV. 6, 98, 1; TS. 2, 4, 14, 2 etc.

493) Which form part of the Atharvaveda-pariśiṣṭāḥ, to wit: ch. 2 in the edition (Bolling and Negelein). Curiously enough these stanzas deal with the importance to the ruler of the appointment of a purohita who can avert portents, and with a glorification of the Atharvaveda, the corpus for the use of this priest.

494) This verb and the following are in the plural.

495) AV. 6, 87, 1. Cf. also RV. 10, 173, 1.

496) RV. 10, 173, 4; AV. 6, 88, 1 etc.

is perfectly clear that this rite in honour of Indra is to consolidate and preserve, not only those powers and phenomena for good which are in Indra's province, but especially on behalf of the population the government in power, that is to say the king.

The king and his priest bring themselves to a special state of 'purity' and 'sanctity'; they abstain from eating, i.e. they observe restrictions to conserve and to accumulate their specific power. "Ihr *tapas* strömt denn auch als zauberische Kraft der Abwehr und des Segens mystisch hinaus in Stadt und Land" ⁴⁹⁷). The process of erecting the tree should be carefully watched by the astrologer, for any accident or deviation from the prescribed course of action is significant for the future of the ruler and the realm. If for instance a vulture alights on the tree, there is danger of death. It is however part of the purohita's task immediately to intervene, and to ward off the imminent evil by expiatory or propitiatory rites (rites of appeasement: *sānti-*). He also has to consecrate the king with a series of formulas taken from the Atharvaveda ⁴⁹⁸) and used, in the Kauśika-sūtra, in a battle rite ⁴⁹⁹), in order to gain victory: "superior (victorious) is the sacrifice, victorious are Agni, Soma, Indra; that I may surpass all hostile armies, so would we pay worship with this oblation; O Mitra and Varuṇa, cause ye here our dominion to overflow with honey, drive off perdition far away; be pleased with this mighty (*ugra-*) hero (*vīra-*); take hold, O companions (plur.) after Indra, the conqueror of towns and cows, who, thunderbolt-armed, slaughters with power (*ojas*), conquering in the course". Whilst reciting these stanzas and making the king perform a circumambulation, from left to right (*pradakṣiṇam* ⁵⁰⁰)) of the tree, the priest offers a full homa or oblation of clarified butter in bodily contact with the king who joins in the act. As laid down in the above ritual books, the servants of the king should be consecrated (*dīkṣitāḥ*), observe chastity (*brahmacāriṇaḥ*), and perform, for three or seven days, sacrifices. By celebrating this festival the kingdom becomes, day by day, greater, the king

497) MEYER, *Trilogie*, III, p. III.

498) Cf. AV. 6, 97, 1.

499) Kauśika Sūtra 14, 7.

500) For the *pradakṣiṇa*- see W. CALAND, *Een Indogermaansch lustratiegebruik*, Amsterdam 1898; O. SCHRADER-A. NEHRING, *Reallexikon d. indogerm. Altertums*. I, p. 412 ff.; TAWNEY-PENZER, *Ocean of Story*, I, p. 190 ff.

attains to the position of sole ruler of the earth and shall live a full lifetime.

On the day previous to the starting of a military expedition into a foreign country the ruler has to undergo a ceremonious bath for victory. The ceremony of this 'bath of victory' (*jayaśnāna*-) resembles the consecration ceremony in many respects ⁵⁰¹).

XIII

The ancient Indian king was expected to show himself in full state to his subjects every morning. As it was supposed auspicious to glance at his divine person people flocked to his palace for this purpose ⁵⁰²). As is well known Indian people attach much value to *darśana*- i.e. the sight of an image of a god, the visit to a sacred shrine, the sight or visit of a saint, a successful leader, a king ⁵⁰³). An instance may be quoted here: in the *Dūtajātaka* ⁵⁰⁴) the Bodhisattva when king of Benares is described as making it his habit to eat in full view of his people: the sight of a righteous king causing 'religious merit' (*puñ-ñam*) he wished to confer that merit upon those present. The statement that a king who is difficult to be seen or met with can easily be influenced by his surroundings—he is expected to hear the complaints of his subjects personally—can, whatever its practical and secular aspects, also be understood in the light of this belief ⁵⁰⁵). "The king who has no time for thought of royal cares shall, with his realm and people, be involved in fatal ruin. The subjects flee from a monarch whose face they seldom or never see (at the times fixed for *darśana*-)" ⁵⁰⁶). He should allow people to give him auspicious objects which were intended to enhance his power and to ward off

501) This ceremony is described at great length in the *Rājanitiprakāśa* (Chaukhamba Sanskrit Series), p. 351 ff.

502) Cf. e.g. *Kālidāsa*, *Ragh.* 19, 7; *Mbh.* 2, 5, 86; *Rām.* 2, 100, 51. For the signification of *samalaṃkṛta*- (*Mbh.*) "in full state" see my paper in the *New Indian Antiquary*, *Festschrift Thomas*, Bombay 1939, p. 97 ff.; for *vibhūṣita*:- *The meaning of Vedic bhūṣati*, Wageningen 1939.

503) Thus the ideal king *Rāma* was always accessible: *Rām.* 1, 1, 17.

504) *Jātaka* 260. Here W. H. D. ROUSE (*The Jātaka*....., ed. E. B. COWELL, II, Cambridge 1895, p. 221, n. 3) recalled to memory that according to the Talmud one should always run to meet the kings of Israel and even gentile kings.

505) *Kauṭ.* AS. 16, 30 f.

506) *Rām.* 3, 33, 5.

evil ⁵⁰⁷). Praising the king is also a good and auspicious activity ⁵⁰⁸). In the detailed description of the day's work of the ideal king given by Kautilya ⁵⁰⁹) the last eighth part of the night is destined to "benedictions, auspicious progress, blessings, congratulations"—or whatever translation may be preferred for *svastyayana*—which the ruler has to accept in the presence of the sacrificial priest, the spiritual teacher and the purohita (*ṛtvigācāryapurohitasakhaḥ svastyayanāni prati-grhṇīyāt*). Before entering the audience-hall (or: assembly) he performs from left to right a circumambulation of a cow, a calf, and a bull, no doubt in order to participate in the holiness of these animals. These ceremonies remind us of the daily or periodical homage due to chiefs in other countries. The Javanese princes, for instance, regularly appeared before the noblemen and the high officials who then furthered the realization of their desires and intentions by a sort of magico-religious acclamation, through which they were believed to activate the mystic power of royalty ⁵¹⁰). Generally speaking all good acts performed by his subjects lead to the well-being of the Indian monarch ⁵¹¹).

The religious character of kingship may also appear from the following facts. Among the events occasioning 'impurity' and, hence, cessation from Vedic study are not only the fall of a thunderbolt, an eclipse of the sun or the moon, the death of the teacher or of a near relative, etc., but also the death of the ruler. A snātaka shall not speak evil of the king or of the gods ⁵¹³); yea nobody should lie before a god or a king ⁵¹⁴). If a ruling prince or anyone belonging to the other categories deserving of honour—a priest officiating at sacrifices, a snātaka, a teacher and the relatives considered *gurus*—

507) See e.g. Mbh. 2, 5, 101.

508) I refer to MEYER, *Trilogie* II, p. 8.

509) Kauṭ. AS. ch. 16 (19), 26.

510) The ceremony was called *mijos sinēwaka* i.e. "to go out of the inner apartments of the palace and to accept homage"; the main task of those present was *djumurung* which is usually translated by "to pronounce benedictions". Annual tours of inspection served a similar purpose. See e.g. the OJav. poem Nagarakṛtāgama 83, 5 ff.

511) Mbh. 12, 59, 130.

513) Āpastamba-dharmasūtra 1, 11, 31, 5. For deformation or insulting language see e.g. Manu 8, 266 ff.

514) See e.g. Pañcatantra 1, 119.

comes as a guest to one's house he should be honoured by offering him honey⁵¹⁵), which being considered the quintessence of plants and water is often used as a means of stimulating beneficial powers. We have already noticed that it was customary to greet the sovereign when he passed through his capital, that is to say to pronounce blessings, with fried grain—which was considered a *maṅgala*- or producer of bliss and welfare—showered by girls: as is well known girls were regarded as pure and auspicious⁵¹⁶). Flowers are showered on his head⁵¹⁷), or offered to him; so are fruits⁵¹⁸).

Some additions to this pericope may find a place here: We know from various authorities that it was the *adhvaryu* priest who had to act as a deputy for the king when the latter was engaged in prolonged performances of religious ceremonies such as the *Aśvamedha*⁵¹⁹). We hear of kings who are worshipped (*arcayanti*) like the sun⁵²⁰). A curious sidelight on the degree of sacredness enjoyed by the ruler is furnished by a passage in a *brāhmaṇa*⁵²¹), enjoining upon those who have established sacrificial fires not to go to any person, even to a king who happens to be in their houses, before rendering homage to the fires. It is almost superfluous to add that the sacredness of his function does not safeguard the bearer of majesty against the attempt of rivals and others who have the disposal of very potent ritual—or, if this term be preferred, magical devices. Thus the knowledge of the “dying round the holy power” enabled king *Sutvan* to cause the death of five rivals⁵²²).

XIV

Since the first king *Pṛthu* was anointed by *Viṣṇu*, *Indra* and other great divinities and brahmans, it belongs to the duties of the king to be consecrated⁵²³). This ceremony itself, being part of a religious

515) For particulars and references: Kane, *o.c.*, II, 1, p. 542 ff.

516) See *Kālidāsa*, *Raghuvamśa* 2, 10.

517) See e.g. *Mbh.* 1, 69, 12.

518) See also *Kullūka*, on *Manu* 8, 307.

519) See e.g. *Āpastamba-Śrautasūtra* 20, 3, 1 f.; *Baudhāyana-Śrautasūtra* 15,

4. The *adhvaryu* is formally anointed.

520) E.g. *Mbh.* 1, 171, 18.

521) *Śat. Br.* 2, 4, 1, 6.

522) *Ait. Br.* 8, 28.

523) For the various procedures described in the ancient sources and medieval text-books see P. V. KANE, *Hist. of Dharmas.* III, p. 72 ff. See A. WEBER, *Über*

service—a soma sacrifice—was performed by a baptism of water ⁵²⁴). It is mythically connected with, and considered a repetition of, the consecration of Indra or Varuṇa. The accession to the throne is an endowment with power ⁵²⁵). Hence also the use of the term *pratiṣṭhā*—“to install, found or establish” ⁵²⁶) which is often applied in connection with images of divinities and similar entities ⁵²⁷). The ritual acts and especially the formulas accompanying them, are very instructive for our purpose. At the end of the description of the great unction (*mahābhiṣeka*-) of Indra the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa (8, 14, 4) says that “anointed with this great anointment Indra won all victories, obtained all worlds, attained the superiority (*śraiṣṭhyam*), pre-eminence (*atiṣṭhām*), supremacy (*paramatām*) over all the gods, and having won the complete sway (*sāmārājyam*), the ‘bountifulness’ (*bhaujyam*, i.e. the rank of a *bhoja*-, i.e. a king who bestows enjoyment), the self-sway (*svārājyam*), the universal sway (*vairājyam*), the supreme authority (*pārameṣṭhyam*), sway (*rājyam*), the great sway (*māhārājyam*), the suzerainty (*ādhipatyam*) in this world; he was self-existing (*svayambhūḥ*), self-swaying (*svarāt*), ‘immortal’ (*amrtaḥ*); he was indeed immortal after having obtained in yonder world of heaven all desires. “Then it follows with regard to a member of the ruling order who is to be king: “if a (priest) who knows thus should desire of him that he would win all victories, etc., that he would embrace all what is in the universe (*samantaparyāyī* “all-encompassing”), possessed of all earth (*sārvabhaumaḥ*), possessed of all life (*sārvāyusaḥ*), from the one end up to the further side of the earth bounded by the ocean, sole ruler (*ekarāt*), he should anoint him with this great anointing of Indra.

die Königsweihe, Abh. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss. Berlin 1893; A. HILLEBRANDT, *Ritualliteratur (Grundriss)*, p. 143 ff.; A. B. KEITH, *The Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads*, p. 340 ff.; KANE, *Hist. of Dh.* II, p. 1214 ff.; my pupil Mr. J. Heesterman is preparing a new monograph on the subject.

⁵²⁴) Some particulars are also discussed by O. VIENNOT, *Le culte de l'arbre dans l'Inde ancienne*, Paris 1954, p. 168 ff.; 187.

⁵²⁵) For the power conferred by the throne upon its legitimate occupant see J. AUBOYER, *Le trône et son symbolisme dans l'Inde ancienne*, Paris 1949, p. 173 ff.

⁵²⁶) For the verb *pratiṣṭhā*- see my relative paper in vol. I of the Journal of the ‘Centre for Intern. Indol. Research’, Poona-Paris-Rome, which is to appear in 1955 or 1956.

⁵²⁷) See my paper “*pratiṣṭhā*” (see n. 526); cf. e.g. Kālidāsa, *Raghuvamśa* 4, 2; 8, 10 .

From the other texts pertaining to the royal consecration (*rāja-sūya-*)⁵²⁸ it emerges that the king is to attain ever-increasing prosperity (*śrī-*), which is declared to be identical with the earth, suzerainty and lordship (*aiśvaryam*) over his objects; that he is to become *ugra-* i.e. possessed of that particular vital and creative potency which was called *ojas* and powerful (*balī*), in possession of conquering power (*sahas*) and creative energy (*ojas*), of energy to overcome others (*abhibhūtyojās*), of fiery energy (*tejas*); that he is to obtain limited space (that which is within the altar) and the unlimited abundance or plenum (*bhūmāparimitaḥ*). He is anointed with the waters by which Indra, Soma, Varuṇa, Yama, and the first man Manu were anointed, with the brilliance of Agni, the radiance of the sun, the power of Indra, in order to obtain might, prosperity, glory and food. Placing his feet on the earth he pronounces formulas in which he declares himself to be established on, or to find support in, the sky and the earth, in both kinds of breath, in day and night, in food and drink, in *brahma* and *kṣatra-*, that is to say in the highest complementary pairs in the universe, i.e. in the various aspects of the universe itself. Then he really finds this support with his whole self. He attains ever-increasing prosperity, suzerainty and lordship over men. Thereupon, placing himself under the authority of the brahman he secures fourfold victoriousness, to wit: *jiti-*, *abhiḥjiti-*, *viḥjiti-*, *saṃjiti-* “victory, conquest, triumph (in various directions), complete conquest.” Then he makes himself to prosper with that special power which belongs to Indra (*indriya-*) and manly strength or courage (*vīrya-*). Freedom from enemies and safety on all sides becomes his. Thereupon he is addressed as approaching or appearing as brahma, breath, and ‘immortality’ or rather ‘life’, as being protection, shelter and safety, for the sake of well-being, together with offspring and cattle—the ever-recurring objects of desire. Free from harm and injury (*anārta-*, *ariṣṭa-*), victorious (*ajita-*), protected on every side, he now wanders through all the quarters, finding support in the world of Indra, never being drawn away from his position, living his full life, becoming lord of the complete earth.

⁵²⁸) See esp. Ait. Br. 7, 20, 5 ff. (for *śrī* 7, 20, 5; 34, 10: 8, 5, 4; 6, 6); for suzerainty etc. 8, 6, 8; powerful 7, 34, 10; 8, 21; 3, 1; *tejas* 8, 4, 5; unlimited abundance 8, 5, 4; placing his feet 8, 9, 2; freedom from foes: 8, 10, 8; approaching 8, 11, 1 ff.

The Mahābhiṣeka or great anointing of Indra, which constitutes the mythical prototype of the king's inauguration, is also worth noticing ⁵²⁹). The gods with the lord of creatures, Prajāpati, in consideration of Indra's being the most powerful (*ojiṣṭhaḥ* "standing out from the others with regard to the possession of ojas" ⁵³⁰)), the most forceful (*baṣiṣṭhaḥ*: *bala-* especially denotes physical strength), the most victorious (*sahiṣṭhaḥ*), the most true or real (*sattamaḥ*), the best to accomplish, resolved on consecrating him. Vedic verses, *sāmans* (metrical hymns intended to be chanted), *yajūṃsi* (sacrificial formulas) etc. served as requisites, the *ṛcas*, for instance, being the throne, the 'Daseinsmacht' *yaśas* ("glory") the coverlet, *śrī-* (prosperity) the pillow. The gods Savitar and Bṛhaspati supported the front feet, Vāyu and Pūṣan the back feet etc. By the long series of formulas accompanying the king's mounting the throne he declares that he does so in order to obtain overlordship (*sāmṛājyāya*), the rank of a king with the title of *bhoja-* (*bhaujyāya*) and other ranks of sovereignty, including supreme authority and pre-eminence. A similar activity of various other gods described in these formulas is to add to the efficacy of these potent recitations and momentous actions. When he was seated the gods proclaimed him, because "he cannot display his strength (*vīryam*) if he is not proclaimed". In the formulas proclaiming his sovereignty and paramouncy, emphasis is laid on the fact that no "lordly power (*kṣatram*) has been born, the kṣatriya has been born, the supreme ruler of all creation has been born, the eater of the people (*viśām attā*) has been born, the breaker of citadels (an epithet of the god) has been born, the slayer of the asuras has been born, the guardian (*goptā*) of the brahman has been born, the guardian of the dharma has been born". Thereupon Indra was anointed by Prajāpati. Various classes of gods, belonging to the different quarters repeated this sacramental act, creating him universal king, paramount ruler etc. Thus Indra became the supreme authority. Anointed in this great ceremony he won all victories, acquired all worlds, attained distinction (*śraiṣṭhya-*) among and pre-eminence and supremacy over all the gods; having acquired the various royal positions in this world such as sovereignty, overlordship, paramouncy, he became self-existing

⁵²⁹) See Ait. Br. 8, 12 ff.

⁵³⁰) Cf. also Śāṅkh. Śr. sū. 10, 15, 8 "thereby Prajāpati engendered Indra as a hero and so he overcame those asuras".

(*svayambhūh*), self-ruling (*svarāt*) and 'immortal' (*amṛtaḥ*), in yonder world of heaven having obtained all desires he became 'immortal'.

With this great anointing of Indra a kṣatriya should be consecrated, if it is desired that he be a king who wins all victories, attains distinction and so on, and so on.

In other texts relative to the same ceremony the king who is to be consecrated is said to be desirous of the heavenly space ⁵³¹); his power to be victorious is essential and so is his ability to bear sway over various categories of beings and entities. To this end the 'authorizing' gods Savitar, Agni, Soma, Rudra, Bṛhaspati, Indra, Mitra, Varuṇa, are invited to authorize him to be victorious. He is anointed with Soma's glory, with Agni's brilliance, with the radiance of the sun. He is addressed as being Indra, as conquering his enemies, and invited to bring, in his right hand, possessions. He is identified with Brahmā and Savitar, with Mitra and Varuṇa. He becomes king of the five regions of the sky ⁵³²). He also makes, turning east, three Viṣṇu strides to the accompaniment of the formula: "Thou art the stepping of Viṣṇu, thou art the step of Viṣṇu, thou art the stride of Viṣṇu" ⁵³³). These Viṣṇu strides are part of the so-called *devasū* oblations, i.e. those intended for the "divine 'quickeners', the above eight gods who have the power of quickening or authorizing, who "quicken" the king for lordship over their respective domains, for control over similar powers to those they themselves represent, for energy, kingship, etc. The names and epithets, or functions, of these eight divinities are worthy of our attention: they are ⁵³⁴) Agni the lord of the house, Soma the lord of the forest, Savitar of true instigation, Rudra the lord of cattle, Bṛhaspati the lord of speech, Indra the superior one (*jyeṣṭha*-), Mitra the true, and Varuṇa the lord of dharma ⁵³⁵). This list has half of the names in common with the enumeration of the likewise eight deities whose particles are in Manu's dharma-work said to constitute the king: Savitar, Rudra, Bṛhaspati, Mitra are different.

531) Āpastamba-śrautasūtra 18, 8, 1; 11, 1; 12, 6; 16, 1; 17, 3, 4a; 18, 11; 19, 5.

532) Cf. also Āpastamba-śrautasūtra 18, 15, 1.

533) See also Taittiriya-saṃhitā 1, 8, 10g; 15c; Āp. śr. s. 18, 12, 10.

534) Cf. Taittiriya-saṃhitā 1, 8, 10, 1; and the note by A. B. Keith, *The Veda of the Black Yajus School*, Harvard 1914, I, p. 121.

535) Lord: *pati*-.

By making the Viṣṇu strides the king is said to rise high above everything here; becoming Viṣṇu he gains these worlds ⁵³⁶). The importance of the rājasūya is inter alia apparent from the statement that one becomes a *rājā* or “king” after having performed that sacrifice ⁵³⁷). According to two sources ⁵³⁸) the rājasūya was—before the beginning of time—mystically seen by Varuṇa who wished to attain to pre-eminence, sovereignty, and supremacy over all realms. He then “brought it near” and was the first to perform it successfully. In the same way, the sacrificer now attains to pre-eminence etc. by executing this rite.

The same formula is prescribed in the ritual of the Vājapeya or Drink-of-vigour ⁵³⁹) rite, held to confer paramount lordship on the ruler ⁵⁴⁰). It should be performed by a brahman or kṣatriya desirous of the position of “a super-eminently learned or prosperous man”. A characteristic of this sacrifice is that the number seventeen is predominant. This number is mystically connected with Prajāpati, the lord of creation, who is productiveness itself, who created the sacrifice as a counterpart of himself, who is identical with the sun, and from whom the goddess Śrī is said to have arisen ⁵⁴¹). So the king who has this rite performed aspires to the highest excellence of identity, or at least an intimate connection, with Prajāpati. Special features of the rite are a chariot race, in which the king who is the sacrificer is to be victorious, and by which he secures power, victoriousness and this world. When the race starts the brahman priest ascends on to an udumbara chariot-wheel (which is revolved from left to right) pronouncing formulas in which he expresses his intention to win *vāja*- and to ascend into the highest firmament of Indra ⁵⁴²), Udumbara

⁵³⁶) I refer to *Aspects of early Viṣṇuism*, p. 58 f.

⁵³⁷) Cf. Gopatha Br. 1, 5, 8; Śat. Br. 5, 1, 1, 12 f. Similarly, the other great royal sacrifices make a nobleman *saṃrāt*, *svarāt* etc.

⁵³⁸) Jaiminiya-br. 2, 197; Śāṅkh. śr. sū. 15, 12, 1.

⁵³⁹) See *Aspects of early Viṣṇuism*, p. 50 (with references). For a detailed description: P. V. KANE, *Hist. of Dharmas*. II, 1941, p. 1206 ff.

⁵⁴⁰) I refer to KEITH, *Religion and Philosophy*, p. 340.

⁵⁴¹) For a short characterization see *Aspects of early Viṣṇuism*, p. 77 f. — Although it is impossible to include in this publication all references to the king's being, in a mystical way, identical with some entity or the other, Pañc. Br. 2, 7, 5 (cf. also 2, 10, 4; 18, 10, 9 and Caland's note; Śat. Br. 1, 3, 2, 14) may be quoted: by using a certain chant of seventeen verses which is the vaiśya class (the peasantry) one surrounds the prince by the vaiśyas.

⁵⁴²) Cf. also Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa 5, 1, 5, 3; 5.

wood (ficus glomerata) represents food and procreation, Prajāpati and nobility ⁵⁴³), the wheel the sun and universal dominion: the king is to become a cakravartin ⁵⁴⁴). By pronouncing, in this way, these formulas, he wins the atmosphere. This race, like the cow raid and a dice play in other inauguration ceremonies, represents a test for recognizing the ruler's superiority in valour and physical prowess, and a means of enabling him to prove himself the fittest man for kingship, as well as magical devices to achieve the defeat of his adversaries in prowess, sagacity etc. The sacrificer solemnly mounts to the sun by climbing to the top of the sacrificial post, pronouncing the formula: "We have reached heaven ⁵⁴⁵), we have reached the gods, we have become immortal children of Prajāpati." In so doing the king wins the world of the gods. In this position the priests provide him, in a ritual way, with food and victory. Descending he declares the earth to be his realm in order to support for tilling, for safety, for peaceful dwelling. In another formula he is invited to mount to heaven and then to regard, as a monarch, mankind, for the sake of tilling, peaceful dwelling, property and abundant thriving ⁵⁴⁶), that is to say "for the welfare of the people, for the common wealth: corroboration of kingship renews life. Now the king is explicitly declared to have gained identity with Prajāpati, the lord of creatures—"all creatures are the children of the king" ⁵⁴⁷).

A curious feature in this ceremony remains to be described. In close proximity of the *cātvāla*- (i.e. pit in the soil of the sacrificial grounds) a piece of wood of the form of an axle-tree is to be dug in, and to it is to be fastened horizontally a wheel ⁵⁴⁸) made of fig-wood with

543) Cf. e.g. Ait. Br. 5, 24; 7, 32; 8, 8; Gobhila-gṛhyasūtra 4, 7, 24. For udumbara wood see also O. VIENNOT, *Le culte de l'arbre dans l'Inde ancienne*, Paris 1954, p. 270; MEYER, *Trilogie* III, p. 332.

544) See further on.

545) For the significance of climbing in initiations etc. see also M. ELIADE, *Images et Symboles*, Paris 1952, p. 59 ff.

546) See Āp. śr. s. 18, 6, 4 (and Caland's note); Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa 5, 2, 1, 25. See also 5, 1, 5, 1. Attention may also be drawn to the following feature: vaiśyas (i.e. mainly agriculturists), which are explained as his children by the commentary on Kātyāyana-śrautasūtra 14, 5, 12, throw upon him 17 bags of saltish earth or four priests (see Āpast. śr.s. 18, 5, 16 ff.) raise up bags containing this earth or ashes to his face on long poles respectively from the four points of the compass, pronouncing such formulas as "for food, for victory etc.". For earth, ashes and salt see MEYER, *Trilogie*, III, p. 294 f.; 288; 317.

547) Cf. Mbh. 12, 91, 9 ff.

548) Cf. e.g. Āp. śr. sū. 18, 14, 3.

seventeen spokes. The brahman priest mounts this wheel whilst pronouncing the formula: "On the instigation of the god Savitar, through Bṛhaspati, winner of *vāja*-, let me win *vāja*-" ⁵⁴⁹). Then the adhvaryu priest calls upon him to sing the song of the vigorous ones (*vājīnām*); here another source adds ⁵⁵⁰): "The world of heaven is vigour (*vāja*-); he thereby makes him (the king) conquer heaven." While the wheel is turned round by the adhvaryu or a servant, thrice sunwise, the brahman chants that song ⁵⁵¹)—which contains the words: "Those who possess *vāja*- have come to *vāja*- —at the very moment when the racers start their race. According to another authority ⁵⁵²) he may also mutter the words "... on the impulse of god Savitar gain you (plur.) heaven." The king mounts his chariot after having touched its two wheels or its sides. Now the turning of the wheel, to which we shall have to return, is no doubt a means to activate the important power *vāja*- or vigour. We may regard this act as an imitation of the activity of the sun on which depends all growth and vegetation (being "vigour") on the earth. The same act is also prescribed as part of another rite, to wit the ceremony of preparing the sacrificial fires ⁵⁵³): to the south of the sacrificial grounds a chariot or a wheel is to be set in motion, so that the wheel(s) turn thrice. This means, the Taittirīya brāhmaṇa states, that the sacrificer by means of a chariot of men alights at a chariot of the gods. If this really was the sense attributed to this act, it also points to a process of 'deification' to be undergone by the sacrificer ⁵⁵⁴).

In conclusion it may be remembered that the idea of securing the above potency of *vāja*- is in the texts explicitly said to involve the acquisition of all. They who win *vāja*- (*vājaṃ jayanti*) win food, because *vāja*- is food. Formerly king Varuṇa was the equal of the other gods, a brāhmaṇa relates ⁵⁵⁵). In order to become the lord of the

549) Taitt. Samh. 1, 7, 8b; Maitrāyaṇī Samh. 1, 11, 6. Cf. however also Śāṅkh. Śr. sū. 16, 17, 1 ff.

550) Pañc. Br. 18, 7, 12.

551) Cf. Jaim. Br. 2, 194.

552) Śāṅkh. Śr. sū. 16, 17, 6.

553) Taitt. Br. 1, 1, 6, 8; cf. Caland, on Āp. Śr. sū. I, Göttingen-Leipzig 1921, p. 153.

554) Caland considered the signification of the turning wheel in this rite to have originally been a piece of rain magic (Regenzauber): *Zeitschr. d. deutschen morgenl. Ges.* 53, p. 699.

555) Jaim. Br. 3, 152. With regard to *vāja*- I refer to Pañc. Br. 13, 9, 20 ff.

gods he became the pupil of Prajāpati, who put him in possession of a sāman saying: "this is the manifestation of my royal power; go, the gods will make you their king." So the gods did, saying: "in you we see the manifestation of our father Prajāpati". They gave him the royal throne and anointed him unto *rājya-*, *vairājya-* etc. Thus the above sāman, the varuṇasāman, is a *śrīṣava*, i.e. an inauguration unto the high and prosperous position of bearer of majesty. Āpastamba and other authorities say that on performing the vājapeya a prince is entitled to use the white parasol ⁵⁵⁶). Although there was a difference of opinion whether a prince who desired to perform a rājasūya should have previously celebrated the vājapeya or not, the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa ⁵⁵⁷) states that by the former one becomes (*bhāvati*) a king (*rājā*), by the latter a universal king or emperor (*samrāt*).

XV

The simplest of all inaugural performances is the *abhiṣeka-*, the consecration of a king by sprinkling water ⁵⁵⁸). The monarch is supposed to be re-born as the son of the sages who act as priests; now he is vested with sanctity and inviolable. An abundance of prayers are said for granting him "greatness" or "extent" (*varṣman-*) and the most important "breadth" or "expanse" (*variman-*), and for giving to those praying, in a safe and sound condition ⁵⁵⁹), abundance of cattle. Thereupon the king is asked to be the guide and protector of men. Next there are prayers for the prosperity of cattle, the various components of the population etc. It is worth while to examine some of the formulas more closely: The king is inter alia said to have become prosperous, to have entered the beings, to have become their lord. Death (Mṛtyu) who likewise is a king, is through formulas stimulated to 'favour' the sacrificer with the realm (*sa rājā rājyam anumanyatām idam*)—the same verb is used elsewhere ⁵⁶⁰) in connection with the gods: *viśve devā anv amanyanta hr̥dbhiḥ* "all gods expressed their favour and approbation", and in a collection of magical formulas and

⁵⁵⁶) Āpastamba Śr. 18, 7, 18 and Caland's note.

⁵⁵⁷) Śat. Br. 9, 3, 4, 8.

⁵⁵⁸) We have a description of this solemnity in the Taitt. Br. 2, 7, 15 f.

⁵⁵⁹) For *sarvatātā* see my relative observations in the *Festschrift S.K. Chatterji, Indian Linguistics* 16 (Madras 1956), p. 53 ff.

⁵⁶⁰) RV. 1, 116, 17; cf. also 6, 72, 3; 10, 37, 5.

prayers intended to prolong a person's life ⁵⁶¹: "let all gods express their favour and approbation, not showing enmity". The god Agni is invoked to anoint the ruler with the splendour-and-vigour (*varcas*) which was also present in the power with which Prajāpati fixed the earth after she had been extended (*paṇṇānām adṛmhat*) and which enabled him to fashion the expanse of the sky, by which the sun shines etc. The king is to illumine by his prowess (valour, heroic superiority: *śavāsā*) the five races of men, i.e. the whole human race, to be like Indra pre-eminent (*jyeṣṭha-*) and rich in 'creatures' (*prajāvān*); the wish is formulated that he may be gifted with abundance and splendour; that he will fill or pervade heaven and earth, and the space between these (*upastham*). Kaśyapa ⁵⁶² is invited to place the sacrificer as a king in his splendid, powerful, illustrious handicraft (*śilpa-*) in which are put together seven suns. After having been called a tiger the ruler is addressed as follows: "Spread over (*viśrayasva*) the greater quarters; let all the people (*viśaḥ*) want you; let kingship not go lost to you. The waters of heaven which are united with milk, those in the atmosphere and also those on the earth, with the splendour of all these (waters), with their *varcas* I anoint you. Let me anoint you with heavenly *varcas*, and with milk, that you will be an increaser of the kingdom. So shall Savitar make you. All sacred songs have magnified Indra who is expansive as the sea, the best car-fighter of all charioteers, the lord, the true lord of *vājas*. The Vasus, Rudras, Ādityas, Viśve devāḥ shall anoint you in the east etc. with the *gāyatrī* and other metres, Bṛhaspati in the upper region." Thereupon the priest after reciting the stanza: "Thou, the tawny, mighty (*ugra-*) wolf, who causest the din of battle—an epithet given to Indra in the Ṛgveda ⁵⁶³)—who art splendid at the foremost point of the light (lustre) of the Maruts, Thee, Indra who art related to the sun, bountiful and victorious, we will invoke at our liturgical ceremonies calling Thee by name", causes the king to raise his arms ⁵⁶⁴) whilst pronouncing the formula: "Do ye, both of you, stretch out your arms for us to

⁵⁶¹) AV. 8, 2, 21.

⁵⁶²) In the Ath. V. (8, 5, 14) Kaśyapa "the tortoise" is mentioned as a creator; in the Śat. Br. (7, 5, 1, 5) Prajāpati in creating assumed the form of this reptile. This cosmogonic being was to have a great future at a later period.

⁵⁶³) RV. 6, 18, 2; 7, 20, 3 etc. Geldner übersetzt: "streitbar".

⁵⁶⁴) See Apast. Śr. sū. 22, 28, 14.

live (that we may live) ⁵⁶⁵); do ye bedew our pasturage with ghee; make us famous among the folk, O ye young ones; hearken, O Mitra and Varuṇa, to these my supplications". Moving down the arms the priest says: "I move down your arms who are Indra who performs manly deeds." The king also ascended a chariot—in the meanwhile the purohita pronounced the verse: "mount, conquering your enemies ⁵⁶⁶); let the gods intercede for you (favour you"—and after having invited the charioteer to mount "vajra (Indra's weapon) in hand" uttered the prayer that the country might not hear the sounds of the bows of enemies. After having been anointed and embraced—embracing, like kissing, is a means of transferring, acquiring a share in, exchanging, "power" ⁵⁶⁷)—by friends, relations, and brahmins, he is invited by the purohita to speak as follows: "Let yonder sun rise and here my word shall rise; rise, o god sun through my word; ... let the rivers be full, the clouds rain in time; let the useful plants bear good berries; may I be king and the lord of a people that is well provided with food, rice and curds (i.e. of a country flowing with milk and honey)" ⁵⁶⁸).

Although it is not my intention to deal with the various forms of inauguration exhaustively ⁵⁶⁹), attention may also be drawn to the description of the *rājābhiṣeka* as presented in the Āpastamba-śrauta-

565) *pra bāhavā sisṛtaṃ jīvase naḥ*. This line and the rest of this stanza is taken from RV. 7, 62, 5 (cf. also Vājas. Samh. 21, 9; Taitt. Samh. 1, 8, 22, 3 etc.): the Ṛgvedic hymn is addressed to Sūrya, Mitra, and Varuṇa: the outstretched arms of these gods mean life for men; elsewhere it forms part of the stanzas to be recited in performing the *sautrāmanī* sacrifice, which being a ceremony in honour of Indra *sutrāman-* "the good protector" is used to secure the sacrificer the success for which he is anxious in whatever sphere of life he may live: for instance victory or recovery of kingship if he be a king, wealth if he be a vaiśya—or it belongs to the rājasūya.

566) The text has *vṛtrahantamaḥ* the superlative of the epithet, so frequently given to Indra: "Vṛtra-slayer".

567) Embracing, with or without kissing, expresses love, veneration, intimate spiritual or mental contact, protection or desire to be protected; it moreover helps to form a magic circle and to transfer power. Thus women often embrace trees to make them fertile. See e.g. WEINKOPF, in H. BÄCHTOLD-STÄUBLI, *Hdwtb. d. deutschen Aberglaubens*, VIII, 1302 ff. With us it has sometimes survived in the ceremony of conferring knighthood; the term *accolade* originally even meant "embracement".

568) Cf. also Āpast. Śr. sū. 22, 28, 15 ff.

569) I refer to the thesis on the rājasūya by Mr. J. C. Heesterman which, being in course of preparation, will appear before long.

sūtra 570), in which the above-mentioned formulas are used to accompany the rites. The ritual acts again express the desire to make the king a sovereign and victorious monarch, healthy, longlived, heroic, possessed of an abundance of cattle, of powerful arms and of various other desirable qualities.

Another example of the establishment of a royal person in sovereignty is found in a collection of stanzas which occurs, with variations, in the Ṛg- as well as the Atharvaveda 571). According to the Anukramaṇikā, or index of contents, of the Ṛgveda this text constitutes “a praise of the king”. The commentator Sāyaṇa adds that this praise relates to an anointed king, observing that it was to be used in a magical rite directed against the enemy (*abhimantraṇa*-) on behalf of a king who prepares for battle, and quoting a sūtra text 572). There are other ritual applications which however need not detain us for the moment 573). In this short series of stanzas the word *dhruva*- “immovable, fixed, firm, lasting”, is repeated many times and it was no doubt the intention of the poet to compose a text which could help a prince to maintain his royal position. “I have brought Thee near (to be king in our country) ...; stand Thou firm; let all clans (all the people) want Thee; let not the kingdom fall away from Thee. Be Thou just here, do not move away; like a mountain not unsteady... Firm is the sky, firm the earth, firm these mountains, firm all this world of living beings; firm (is, be) this king of the clans (people).” It is however also expressly stated that Indra had established this king and had preserved him from being driven from his throne. The same god is invoked to make the people pay tribute, and with Agni, Varuṇa and Bṛhaspati he is also expected to keep the kingdom “fixed” for the king.

A few lines may be devoted to a more coherent survey of the function of the songs and other spoken words in consecrating a royal person 574). He is sprinkled, i.e. inaugurated, by the voice, because

570) Āpast. Śr. sū. 22, 28. For a translation see W. CALAND, *Das Śrautasūtra des Āpastamba*, III, Amsterdam 1928, p. 359 ff.

571) RV. 10, 173, 1-6, where they form one continuous passage, and AV. 6, 87; 88, 1-2; 7, 94, 1.

572) Āśval. G.S. 3, 12, 2: (*saṃgrāme samuṣolhe rājānaṃ sannāhayet*) ā tvā-hārṣaṃ antar edhīti paścād rathasyāvasthāya.

573) See WHITNEY-LANMAN, *Ath. V.S.*, p. 345; see RV. 10, 173, 1; AV. 4, 8, 4.

574) See Pañc. Br. 18, 8 ff.

the opening stanza of one of the important parts of the rite is an invocation of Vāyu, the god of wind, wind and voice being identical. By using verses addressed to different deities, these are yoked, i.e. set to work or made active. The *pr̥sthasāmans* are manly strength (*vīrya-*); by sprinkling him with that they help him to be fixed on strength. The utilization of the *Āditya*-verses secures him the advantage of being inaugurated in the midst of these divinities; that of the *triṣṭubh*, which is strength (*vīrya-*), that desirable quality. By the *daśapeya*-rite which is mystically connected with the year he obtains the force and strength (*indrīyaṃ vīryam*) of the year. By the *sāmans* of the kings of the gods (god-kings: *devarājñām*) he thrives in yonder world, by those of human kings in this world.

As to the royal consecration as known to the poets of the great epics, it was performed by a bath and baptism of water as an accompaniment of a religious service. From the *Rāmāyaṇa* ⁵⁷⁵) it may appear that the recitation of Vedic mantras with the application of water at the hands of the priest was sufficient to consecrate a son who succeeded a deceased father. The consent of the people was necessary. A form of consecration was, however, needed: "to be consecrated, to sacrifice, and to protect the people are the chief duties of the king", the same epos says ⁵⁷⁶). The formal rite of the royal consecration which serves to confirm the imperial power is also in epic times preliminary to the horse-sacrifice to which we shall have to return further on. The latter ceremony as a religious rite absolves from sin. Politically it proclaims the successful ends of the emperor's desires. It may also be performed by any king, merely as a religious rite and without any claim to the imperial title. After the cohabitation part of the entrails of the horse are dragged out; they are kissed or smelled by the king and his followers. The sixteen priests present burn its limbs.

In the coronation ceremonies of the *cakravartin*, as at a later period (6th-8th c. A.D.) described in the important work on architecture, the *Mānasāra*, four stages are distinguished, the *prāpta-* or *prathama-*, the *maṅgala-*, the *vīra-* and the *vijaya-* ⁵⁷⁷). The *abhiṣeka-* proper consists in anointing the king with various auspicious substances. The

⁵⁷⁵) *Rām.* 2, 12, 11.

⁵⁷⁶) *Rām.* 2, 113, 23.

⁵⁷⁷) *Mānasāra*, ch. 49; see also P. K. ACHARYA, *Manasara Series*, vol. 6, Oxford 1946, p. 132 f.

monarch—whose empire reaches as far as the four oceans—is then adorned with the royal robes, the sacred thread, and various ornaments. He is led to the consecration hall, which is furnished with the emblems of empire, such as the throne, the wish-yielding tree (*kal-pavṛkṣa-*), the ornamental arch (*toraṇa-*). After having been garlanded, anointed, and sprinkled with substances of good augury the king mounts an elephant and circumambulates the city amidst acclamations of felicity. It was customary to lead the emperor after the inauguration blind-folded and to make him pick up anything he chose. The object taken pointed to victory or prosperity, or to the opposites. It may be noticed that a cakravartin is a sovereign who conquered surrounding kingdoms or brought them under his authority. In purāṇas and Buddhist texts his ideal characteristics are often explained⁵⁷⁸). The purāṇical accounts hold that cakravartins are born on earth as a partial incarnation (*aṃśa-*, inherent portion) of Viṣṇu. Their power, dharma, fortune and wealth are marvellous; all the aims of a successful life, fame and victory fell to their share without being mutually incompatible; in supranormal power (*aiśvarya-*) and supranormal lordly abilities (*prabhuśakti-*) in Vedic learning and asceticism they even surpassed the great sages, in force the gods, demons and human kings. Their bodies are characterized by the thirty-two auspicious marks of a great being. Among these outward tokens of the status of *mahāpuruṣa-* i.e. “great man” or *cakravartin-* is also the *śrīvatsa-*, a particular curl of hair on the breast. This sign also belongs to Viṣṇu, the Jinas and other mighty beings. This figure—the name of which means in my opinion “Śrī’s favourite (abode)” or something to that effect⁵⁷⁹)—has nine angles: the number nine often occurs in connection with auspicious objects, powers and ceremonies related to material welfare. Some of the other signs are also worth mentioning: on his feet he wears the marks of a wheel (*cakra*)—which, being especially characteristic, was held to be animated by the spirit of Viṣṇu—and of a fish, a well-known representative of fortune and fertility, symbolizing the penis and causing trees to blossom⁵⁸⁰), on the palms

578) Cf. e.g. Vā. Pur. 57, 68 ff.; Matsya Pur. 142, 63 ff. For the Buddhist conception see G. P. MALALASEKERA, *Dictionary of Pāli proper names*, II, London 1938, p. 1343 ff.

579) See my *Aspects of early Viṣṇuism*, p. 100.

580) See MEYER, *Trilogie* III, p. 296.

of his hands the conch-shell, an auspicious emblem par excellence, representative of (female) fertility, a means of warding off evil, of destroying demons, of strengthening and delighting the divine powers ⁵⁸¹), and a lotus, which, representing water is, as is a matter of common knowledge, extremely frequent in rites and ceremonials for the benefit of fertility and vegetation in general.

We cannot pass over in silence some other interesting features in the numerous descriptions of 'coronations' found in post-Vedic literature ⁵⁸²). In picturing the ceremonies in honour of Rāma the poet relates, inter alia, that as auspicious signs gold, cows, maidens, brāhmaṇas and men with sweetmeats in their hands passed in front of Rāma ⁵⁸³); the citizens had raised banners on their houses. Sea-water and water of no less than five hundred rivers was brought in jars. Vasiṣṭha and other great priests sprinkled the hero with the holy and scented waters like Indra in the days of yore. The denizens of heaven, especially the lokapālas co-operated in this act.

XVI

Finally we may mention a ceremony which ⁵⁸⁴) in so far resembles an anointment that the king is sprinkled with a powerful fluid ⁵⁸⁵). Actually it is in the first place a complex of rites ⁵⁸⁶) intended to keep the king in good condition and to prevent him from being hurt by evil ⁵⁸⁷); it is explicitly called the most efficacious rite for appeasing evil influences (*śānti-*) ⁵⁸⁸) and for allaying evil portents (*utpātāntakara-*); it is a *maṅgala-*, a solemn auspicious ceremony producing or stimulating welfare and happiness. In accordance with this character it should be conducted by the purohita and the astrologer (*daivavid-* "he who knows what comes from the divine powers"), at a time when evil portents and calamities are afflicting the realm, at

⁵⁸¹) *Aspects of early Viṣṇuism*, p. 100 f.

⁵⁸²) For a more detailed account see Kane, o.c., III, p. 77 f.

⁵⁸³) Rām. 6, 128, 38 ff.

⁵⁸⁴) Though incorrectly called an inauguration ceremony by H. KERN, in his translation of the Brhatsaṃhitā, in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1870-1875, = H. KERN, *Verspreide geschriften*, I, The Hague 1913, p. 311.

⁵⁸⁵) Varāh. BS. 48.

⁵⁸⁶) Revealed by (Brahmā) Svayambhū, the Self-existent, Uncreated Brahmā for Indra's sake and later on handed down to a ṛṣi for the sake of earthly kings.

⁵⁸⁷) Cf. ibid. 48, 1: because the ruler is to the people what the root is to the tree.

⁵⁸⁸) For the idea of *śānti-* see also D. J. HOENS, *Śānti*, Thesis Utrecht 1951.

the moment of an eclipse, of the appearance of a comet etc. It is considered very salutary when a ruler longs for a son, when he aspires to the position of an emperor, and also on the occasion of his inauguration; besides it is, as a matter of course, conducive to longevity, increase of progeny, and happiness. That it is no inauguration in the proper sense of the term appears from the statement that the ruler who in the same manner causes his horses and elephants to be washed—washing being the most characteristic feature of this ceremony—shall see them free from disease and as efficient as possible. A fit place for the ceremony is some spot in the forest covered with shrubs, young trees, spreading plants etc. and abounding with lovely and sweet-smelling trees, some wood's skirt resounding with the noises of birds, a pure (*śuci-*) building on consecrated ground, a beautiful sandy river bank, a spot near a lake with an abundance of lotus flowers, a cow-station gay with the lowing of calves, the seaside crowded with happily arrived splendid ships, a hermitage, a house blessed with beautiful women, hallowed shrines, bathing-places, public gardens, spots with beautiful scenery, a tract of land sloping down to the north-east⁵⁸⁹). It may be remembered that the Indians always attach much value to the auspicious character of the place where a rite is to be performed. Forests are appropriate places for worshipping the souls of the deceased and those powers which are connected with vegetation⁵⁹⁰); lovely and fertile spots, the sight of happy and beautiful beings, in short the presence of any representation of luck contributes to the success of a rite intended to ward off evil. The soil on which the ceremony is to be conducted should therefore, to be conducive to victory, be plain, sweet and good-smelling. After having departed by night from the town in an easterly, northerly, or north-easterly direction, the astrologer, minister and priest (*yājaka-*), by which term the *purohita* must be meant invokes all divine beings who are desirous to receive their worship, adding that after having obtained his worship they are expected to leave the next day giving appeasement (*śānti-*) to the sovereign. The *purohita* prepares the ground by drawing lines and diagrams which are assigned to various classes of powerful beings, including gods, demons, planets, ancestors, seers, and honours each of them—details which are given in detail can be passed over in

589) I.e. the region of success and victory.

590) I refer to MEYER, *Trilogie* II, p. 117; III, p. 327.

silence—, performs an act of worship (*pūjā*) on an altar situated in the western part of the ground where the “bathing” (*snāna-*) is to take place. In the corners of that altar are arranged jars covered with sprouts and fruits and containing water mixed with gems and with the substance for the washing. The choice of the plants used for that purpose is based on the principle of nomen omen⁵⁹¹): there is the *jyotiṣmatī*, lit. the brilliant, having the brilliance (of the celestial luminaries), the *trāyamāṇā*, lit. “the preserving” (a ficus), the *abhayā* “the safety” (a name of the root of the andropogon muricatum, a fragment grass which is often used in rites), the *viṣaya-* “victory” etc. etc.; further all sorts of seed, gold, and objects held auspicious at festivities so far as available. Next four skins—of a bull with auspicious marks who died from old age, of a red fighting bull, of a lion, of a tiger—are spread out to bear a throne. After having laid a piece of gold on it, the king who wears a new linen garment—because he is to enter upon a new stage in his life—sits down, surrounded by ministers, priests, persons of an auspicious name, etc. The purohita then pours over him the contents of the jars, whilst reciting an old prayer which runs as follows⁵⁹²): “(This) glossy liquid (*ājya-*) is identified with *tejas* (“the splendour and energy of majesty”); it is the best expeller of evil; it is the food of the gods; on it the worlds are founded. Whatever evil (“sin”), earthly, atmospherical, or celestial has reached thee, let it all come to nought by contact with this *ājya-*”. Sprinkling him with the ritual water which is mixed with fruits and flowers, he next recites a long prayer in which a great variety of divinities and powers are invoked to sprinkle and consecrate the monarch with water which destroys all evil omens (*utpāta-*) and bestow on him hail, long life, and health. After having honoured the deities, taken the royal umbrella, standard⁵⁹³), and weapons, the monarch puts on a new ‘triumphal’ attire (*alankāra-*), which has been consecrated with three stanzas taken from the Yajurveda⁵⁹⁴). These run as follows: “Bestowing a long life, splendour, increase of wealth and forcing its

591) “Andrerseits aber werden doch gar manche solcher Pflanzen ihre Namen daher haben, dass man ihnen von vorneherein gewisse magische Kräfte zuschrieb” (MEYER, *Trilogie* II, p. 116, n. 2).

592) Ibid. st. 52 f.

593) I must resist the temptation to enlarge upon the standard (*dhvaja-*)-which is among the regalia believed to be endowed with supernatural power, — reserving this subject for another publication.

way towards my aims this brightly shining gold shall be attached to me for victory. This gold is not injured by any demon, for it is might of gods, and their primal offspring. Whoever wears the gold of Dakṣa's children lives a long life among gods and men. This ornament of gold, which Dakṣa's children bound with benevolent thoughts, on Śatānīka, I bind on me for a life of hundred years..."⁵⁹⁵). The ruler finally honours the purohita and the astrologer with many gifts and issues an amnesty to his people, freeing the victims in the slaughter places and the prisoners. A repeated performance of this ceremony at the time of the moon's conjunction with the lunar mansion Puṣya makes happiness, renown and wealth increase. From this constellation it has its name Puṣyasnāna "the washing at (the conjunction of the moon with) Puṣya. However, this name is an omen, *puṣya-* meaning also "nourishment", or "the best or uppermost of anything."⁵⁹⁶)

XVII

The authorities disagree as to the procedure to be followed on the death of the reigning king. The Viṣṇudharmottara-purāṇa⁵⁹⁷) states that there is no waiting for an auspicious time. His successor should be bathed with water in which the highly auspicious mustard and sesame are mixed; a proclamation should be issued that the new king has succeeded the deceased predecessor; the purohita should show him to the people, peace and security should be proclaimed. According

594) To wit Vājasaneyī S. 34, 50 ff.

595) Dakṣa is in the Veda a creative power associated with Aditi. Of the investiture of Śatānīka no particulars have been preserved.

596) A similar ceremony is described in the Viṣṇudh. Pur. 2, 161. Being different in a great number of details—the king is actually sprinkled with melted and clarified butter; the rite is intended to make him victorious; a new and splendid garment is consecrated by the Śrisūkta (i.e. RV. Khila 2, 6 see J. SCHEFTELOWITZ, *Die Apokryphen des Rgveda*, Breslau 1906, p. 72 ff.); and the Arranger of all things, Dhātār, is invoked to bestow *śrī-* upon the ruler, etc. etc. —it is called Ghṛtakambalaśānti, i.e. the "appeasement with clarified butter and a blanket", a term which is also used by Varāhamihira 2, 6 to indicate the *puṣyasnāna-*: the king has to put on a woollen blanket (*kambala-*) while the fluid is poured over him. In religious rites the use of wool is not infrequently required: in the Kauśika-sūtra 71, 16 f. it is used for cleansing purposes; the wristlet worn by the bride is made of it (see e.g. Kālidāsa, Ragh. 16, 87). Cf. J. PLEY, *De lanae in antiquorum ritibus usu*, Relig. Vers. u. Vorarb. XI, 2; X. WOLTERS, *Notes on antique folklore*, Thesis Utrecht 1935, p. 150.

597) Vidh. pur. 2, 18, 2 ff. For sesame see Meyer, *Trilogie* III, p. 319 f.

598) Rājanitiprakāśa, p. 62, quoted by KANE, *H. of dh.* III, p. 80.

to the Rājanītiprakāśa⁵⁹⁸) the successor should be crowned one year after the death of his predecessor; when a king abdicates his successor might be crowned on any auspicious day without waiting for a year. We may infer from these rules that a period of mourning was to be observed.—From what we learn from the brāhmaṇas⁵⁹⁹) it is clear that he alone becomes king whom the other kings allow to assume the royal dignity. Hence the statement that those deities to whom the special oblations, called *rāṣṭrabhṛtaḥ* are due, are to give him permission to be consecrated. “Inasmuch as the kings sustain realms (*rāṣṭrāṇi bibhṛati*) and these gods are kings, therefore these “realm-sustaining” oblations are performed.”

There were, in ancient India, also occasions for a general pardon granted by a sovereign other than the above ceremony. Curiously enough, they largely coincide with the cases in which an amnesty is extended to prisoners in modern times. Kauṭilya⁶⁰⁰) states that the king liberates all prisoners when a new country has been subdued, when the heir to the throne is consecrated, or when a royal prince is born. The same custom is mentioned by many other authorities who sometimes add that also female slaves are liberated, taxes are remitted etc.⁶⁰¹), the victims in the slaughter-places are freed⁶⁰²). Kālidāsa even goes so far as to say that the oxen and horses were unharnessed and given rest from drawing carts and chariots, that birds were set free from cages, and cows were left unmilked for the benefit of their calves⁶⁰³). What is the deeper sense of this custom? Should everyone share in the festive joy? Was it the king's intention to reduce the number of the discontented and secret enemies? Or had the general pardon rather something to do with a wholesale remittance of guilt desired on account of, and possible because of, the very felicitous occasion of a royal birth or coronation? Was it an expression of the belief that all that the inhabitants of the country possessed was the gift of the sacred mediator? Was the general release and freedom considered conducive to the success and prosperity of

599) Śat. Br. 9, 4, 1, 1 and 13.

600) Kauṭilya, Arthaśāstra 56.

601) I refer to MEYER, *W. u. S.*, p. 741.

602) Varāh. BS. 48, 81.

603) Kālidāsa, Raghuvamśa 17, 19 f.

the undertaking, the welfare of the king or the newly-born prince? ⁶⁰⁴).

It is interesting to notice that, in contradistinction for instance to ancient Egypt where the power of the sovereign over his subjects did not cease with death, the ancient Indian documents do not give us much information on the deceased king ⁶⁰⁵). Some texts state that after death ⁶⁰⁶) the ruler becomes the associate of Indra ⁶⁰⁷). Yudhiṣṭhira is, after the great war, received by Indra himself in his celestial realm, having acquired a status equal to that of the god ⁶⁰⁸); there he sees his former enemy, the deceased king Duryodhana seated on a throne, gifted with *śrī*-, effulgent like the sun and wearing the signs of heroic glory: "he now is the foremost of the kings who are dwellers of heaven" ⁶⁰⁹). Other epic heroes are stated to have gone to the abodes of Kubera or Varuṇa ⁶¹⁰), all of them returning to their own divine nature of which they had been, in their earthly career, incarnations. They enjoy the heavenly pleasures and prosperity ⁶¹¹). But no mention whatever is made of their being interested in any human being still alive on this earth ⁶¹²). Those who have heard the Mahābhārata should perform a *śrāddha*- (ceremony in honour and for the benefit of dead relatives) to the deceased heroes,

604) It is difficult not to remember the customs connected with childbirth: all knots in the house should be loosened: see Kauśika-sūtra 33, 5 and W. CALAND, *Altindisches Zauberritual*, Amsterdam 1900, p. 108, n. 3. The consecration causes a king to be born.

605) The Javanese kings continued to exercise influence after death. The Babad Tanah Djawi (p. 43 M., 28 O.) relates that those who tried to exhume the dead body of a king fell down; their companion who succeeded in reaching the coffin were put to flight by innumerable bees. Cf. e.g. also H. FRANKFORT, *Kingship and the gods*, Chicago 1948, p. 53 ff.; 198 ff.

606) There is no occasion to dwell on the descriptions of royal burials in the epics (see E. W. HOPKINS, in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 13, p. 170).

607) Viṣṇu-smṛti 5, 196; Bṛhaspati-smṛti 2, 38.

608) Mahābhārata 17, 3, 1; 8. The words used in the text are of interest: *amartyatvaṃ matsamatvaṃ ca* (Indra is speaking) ... *śriyaṃ kṛtsnāṃ mahatīm caiva siddhim|saṃprāpto 'dya svargasukhāni ca tvam* "you have now completely acquired "life eternal" ("immortality"), a state equal to mine, complete prosperity, supreme accomplishment (bliss), the felicities of heaven".

609) Mbh. 18, 1, 1 ff.

610) Mbh. 18, 5, 29.

611) Cf. also Mbh. 12, 24, 23 ff.; 25, 32 ff.; 70, 13; 77, 34, etc.

612) Cf. also Mbh. 18, 6, 4 "The deities came to this world for sport (*kṛī-ḍārtham*); having achieved their tasks, they ascended once more to the celestial

who play a rôle in it, but nothing is asked of them. Innumerable presentations are offered to the brahmins, nothing to the deities which were, in their earthly existence, these great kings.

While expounding the purpose of a specified rite, an author in a brāhmaṇa ⁶¹³) seems to drive us to the conclusion that royal power, though "heavenly", does not ensure its bearer a permanent position in the celestial regions: in that the prince is consecrated by the rāja-sūya, he ascends to the world of heaven; if he did not, by means of that special rite, descend to the earth, he would either depart to a region which lies beyond all human beings, or he would become mad. Outside its specific sphere all power is apt to be dangerous; kingly power, though divine, belongs to the earth. Yet, it is perhaps worth while to quote a passage from the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa ⁶¹⁴) in which in connection with the ruler reference is made to the other world; two of the feet of the throne on which a prince is consecrated stand on the northern altar-ground, which is this terrestrial world, and two on the southern, which is the world of the fathers; thus the prince is consecrated for both worlds. Concerning this an ancient authority observed: "we shall doubtless be like rulers, in yonder world."

This scantiness of information is no doubt closely related to another fact, bearing upon the deceased in general; in the ancient texts little is said about the power of the departed to perform good or bad deeds; they are, it is true, invoked to confer various boons, similar to those given by the gods, to overthrow the enemy of the living, or to dispel the disease of their descendants etc., but their main concern is the continuation of their race; hence they are implored to give sons. So the śrāddha helps to get offspring ⁶¹⁵). They have a personal interest in this continuation, since the offerings on which they subsist can only be presented by their descendants. The king, on the other hand, though being, as a rule, regarded as the source and origin of all that happens in his kingdom is, as far as I am able to see, nowhere especially interested in the continuation of the families of his subjects

region". Cf. also KEITH, *Religion and Philosophy*, p. 425 ff.; W. CALAND, *Altindische Ahnenkult*, Leiden 1893, p. 190 ff.; MEYER, *Trilogie* III, p. 323 f.

⁶¹³) Pañc. Br. 18, 10, 10.

⁶¹⁴) Śat. Br. 12, 8, 3, 6 f.

⁶¹⁵) For references see e.g. J. J. MEYER, *Sexual life in ancient India*, London 1930, p. 223, n. 1.

nor a special help towards getting children. The presence of the dead on earth to aid their offspring is—at least in our sources—practically unknown before Buddhist documents. Besides, in the overwhelming majority of cases it is the whole body of the fathers as such which is addressed. On those rare instances in which individual ancestors are invoked, these significantly are, like Kaṇva or Kaṣṣivānt in the Ṛgveda, persons of ‘spiritual’ rather than royal occupations and wicked kings, like all sinners, go to hell⁶¹⁶).

From later texts⁶¹⁷) we may conclude that the great sacrifices which are connected with kingship, the rājasūya and the āśvamedha, were considered *saṃskāras*, consecrations or rather sacraments, purifying a person from sin and evil contracted in the preceding period of his life and fortifying him at an important moment of his existence in order to be fit to enter upon the next stage.

XVIII

We now come to a very important point. From an abundance of data we may conclude that the ancient Indians were deeply impressed firstly by the broadness and extensiveness of heaven and atmosphere, secondly by the fact that the surface of the earth, especially in the plains, is broad—Sanskrit names for our planet are, inter alia, *prthivī* and *urvī* “the broad one”, *mahī* “the great one”—and thirdly that the blessings of heaven need room and broadness to reach the earth. The idea of broadness, wideness, or extensiveness is of great importance in their religion. Significantly enough the great opponent of the god Indra, the heroic warrior god, was called *vrtra-* the “coverer, restrainer, he who obstructs”, and the much feared *aṃhas* “anxiety, oppression, distress (in German: Bedrängnis)” belongs to a family of words meaning “narrow-(ness)”. Only if there is room the blessings of heaven, light and rain, can reach the earth, only then the earth can produce food, only then man has ‘Lebensraum’. This earth is wide or capacious (*vyacasvatī*) and broad (*prathasvatī*) the Sāmaveda says⁶¹⁸). In putting a specified brick which is explicitly identified with the breath on the fire altar when being built this formula

616) Cf. also HOPKINS, *Epic Mythology*, p. 107 ff.

617) Cf. Mbh. 12, 65, 2 *rājasamskārayogam* and Nīlakaṇṭha’s commentary: *rājasūyāśvamedhāvabhṛthasnānam*.

618) Vāj. S. 13, 17; cf. Śat. Br. 7, 4, 2, 6.

is used, and the words “broaden thou, thou art the broad (earth, *ṛṥhivī*)” added.

Now, royal power and the potencies connected with and furthered by it need room and are at the same time considered to be able to create room. The king is expected to make conquests, to extend the boundaries of his realm, to give his people ‘Lebensraum’ ⁶¹⁹). He should be a *vijigīṣu-*, ambitious and desirous of victory ⁶²⁰). The imperative *vijayasva rājan* “be victorious, O king” or simply *jayatu devaḥ* “victory to the king” serves as a counterpart of our “long live, glory or hail to thee” ⁶²¹). The verb, which already occurs in a beautiful hymn to Indra ⁶²²), “without whom men do not conquer, whom they when fighting call for help” is elsewhere applied to the god himself ⁶²³), “when Indra and the snake (*Vṛtra*) fought, the former remained victorious (*vī jigyē*) for the future”. Viṣṇu’s conquests (*vijīti-*), referred to in the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa ⁶²⁴), are the works of this god who, representing pervasiveness, was mainly concerned with the conveyance of the heavenly blessings to all parts of the universe ⁶²⁵). How closely the idea of *vijaya-* “victory” was connected with *śrī-* “welfare, fortune, and majesty” and *bhūti-* “prosperity” appears also from the famous last stanza of the Bhagavadgītā ⁶²⁶).

619) Hence the statement (see e.g. Parāśarasmr̥ti 1, 68) that apart from the man of royal birth two men are fit to ascend the throne: the hero and the general.

620) Cf. Mbh. 1, 62, 20; Manu 7, 99; 9, 251; Rāmāyaṇa 3, 16, 7; Kālidāsa, Raghuvamśa 1, 7, etc. A definition is provided by the Nītivākyāmr̥ta 114, 15 f.: “a king who is endowed with personality (*ātman-*), luck (destiny, divine appointment: *daiva-*), and the constituent elements (or necessary attributes), (who is) the basis of traditional power and forceful heroism (*kramavikrama-*), is a *vijigīṣu-*. See also Kullūka on Manu 7, 155. For the *digvijaya-* in kāvya: Upadhyaya, India in Kālidāsa, p. 114 ff.

621) Cf. e.g. also Kālidāsa, Vikramorvaśīya, 5, 20+, where the heir-apparent (whose consecration is described) is hailed: *vijayatām yuvarājāḥ*.

622) RV. 2, 12, 9.

623) RV. 1, 32, 13.

624) Śat. Br. 3, 7, 1, 17.

625) For the relations between Viṣṇu and kingship see also my *Aspects of early Viṣṇuism*, ch. 23.

626) Bhagavadgītā 18, 78 “Where is Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna, there will surely be fortune (*śrī-*), victory (*vijaya-*), welfare (*bhūti-*) and morality (*nīti-*)”, that is to say: when the kingly man representing active and aspiring humanity is enlightened by and united with the Divine, fortune etc. are assured. Cf. also Kām. Nīt. 1, 1, *yasya prabhāvād bhuvaṇam śāśvate pathi tiṣṭhati devaḥ sa jayati śrīman daṇḍadhāro mahīpatiḥ*.

The upasads (a ceremony preceding the pressing of the soma) are *jitis* "victories", "by them the gods gained an unrivalled victory (*asapātṇām vijitīm vyajayanta*); he who knows thus gains an unrivalled victory ⁶²⁷). From such texts it again appears that the divinities in heaven were credited with qualities and aspirations which were regarded as belonging to a king.

Apart from other valuable or much desired objects such entities as the earth, heaven, the three worlds ⁶²⁸) are among those striven after by royal persons. "No monarch can acquire the earth, prosperity (*bhūti-*) and royal well-being (*śrī-*) by being only *dharmātmā*" ⁶²⁹). Like *saṃrāj-* beside *rāj-* and *vi-rāj-*, *saṃ-ji-* occurs to accompany *ji-* and *vi-ji-*; at the end of a long text intended to conquer enemies ⁶³⁰) it reads: "On this side conquer (*jaya*), on this side conquer in various directions (*vi jaya*), conquer completely (*saṃ jaya*), conquer (*jaya*)" ⁶³¹). "Being a tiger, upon the tiger's skin ⁶³²) do thou stride out (*vi kramasva*) unto the great quarters of the sky (i.e. unto all directions)" ⁶³³), thus the monarch is addressed when he is consecrated. The tiger is explicitly stated to be the *kṣatram* or "ruling power" of the wild animals ⁶³⁴). Among the objects required in the ceremony is a sheet of gold which is to be put on the head of the prince. Gold is a manifestation of dominion or nobility (*kṣatra-*) ⁶³⁵).

There is another compound with *vi-*—a prefix expressing such ideas as distribution, being or going through or between—which is often connected with kingship, to wit *vikrama-* ⁶³⁶). Viṣṇu's striding, reference to which has already been made, is generally denoted by this term. It denotes a process of world-wide character. By striding Viṣṇu

627) Ait. Br. 1, 24, 1.

628) The earth, e.g. Śat. Br. 13, 5, 4, 13 (the whole earth); Mbh. 1, 62, 21; heaven, e.g. Mbh. 1, 91, 16; the three worlds, e.g. Manu 2, 232 ("and radiant like a god, he will enjoy bliss in heaven").

629) Mbh. 3, 33, 58.

630) Atharvaveda 8, 8, 24.

631) It is not part of our task to enter into a discussion of the "policy of reality" based on these conceptions: see e.g. J. J. MEYER, *Welt- u. S.*, p. LXII.

632) When being consecrated the king strides to the various quarters, and steps on the skin of a tiger, establishing himself in the power of that animal.

633) Atharvaveda 4, 8, 4; Taittiriya-brāhmaṇa 2, 7, 15, 3.

634) Ait. Br. 8, 6.

635) Śat. Br. 13, 2, 2, 17.

636) GONDA, *Aspects of early Viṣṇuism*, p. 61 ff.

was believed to create ample room. The act increases the prosperity and victoriousness of the gods. The kṣatriya however also increases in śrī- by *vikrama*- which in connection with heroes and princes is usually translated by "heroism, strength, prowess" ⁶³⁷). In this more general sense it is ascribed to Indra and great kings.

It belongs to the nature of kingship to outshine all enemies in wealth and splendour ⁶³⁸), to be the sole chief, uppermost of noble men, beating the enemies and taking their enjoyments ⁶³⁹). It is therefore no happy idea sharply to distinguish between the religious and the secular aspect of kingship ⁶⁴⁰), the former requiring from the monarch certain acts for propitiating gods and unseen powers and removing dangers coming from them with the help of the purohita and sacrificial priests, the latter including all acts that lead to prosperity of realm and subjects.

Nor can the view ⁶⁴¹) be satisfactorily substantiated that the doctrine of the king's divinity had mainly developed under foreign influences in the Kushana period, the previous centuries having created only a favourable atmosphere by inculcating the idea that the king was the symbol of a deity. Special mention may be made here of a stanza in the Ṛgveda ⁶⁴²) where Varuṇa and Indra are described as defining their respective competences and authorities. In so doing the former lays special stress on the fact that it was he, the lawful king, who in accordance with the eternal truth and norm (*ṛta*-) extended the earth threefold, i.e. completely and finally. Elsewhere ⁶⁴³) this activity is ascribed to Indra who is said to have extended (*apṛathayaḥ*) the surface of the earth. What interests us most is that it is Indra who in this ancient corpus is more frequently related to have per-

637) Cf. e.g. Mbh. 13, 6, 16; Varāh. BS. 68, 92; 69, 11.

638) See e.g. Atharvaveda 4, 22, 3 ff.

639) The text Atharvaveda 4, 22, in which these and similar achievements are wished ("increase, O Indra, this kṣatriya of mine; destitute of splendour (*avarcasam*) make his foe") is to be recited every morning for the benefit of the consecrated monarch (Kauśika-sūtra 17, 28).

640) Thus P. V. KANE, *History of Dharmaśāstra* III, p. 101. See e.g. also Yājñavalkya-smṛti 1, 308.

641) Which was recently pronounced by Altekar, *o.c.*, p. 59 f.

642) RV. 4, 42, 4.

643) RV. 1, 62, 5; cf. 1, 56, 5. See also RV, 1, 103, 2; 2, 15, 2; 6, 17, 7; 8, 3, 6; 89, 5; cf. 3, 50, 1; for Indra and Viṣṇu see 6, 69, 5; Indra and Soma 6, 72, 2. For Varuṇa see also 7, 86, 1; Agni 3, 14, 4; Maruts 8, 94, 9; Viṣṇu cf. also 5, 87, 7.

formed this deed than other gods; once he was in the company of Viṣṇu. Now, Indra and Varuṇa who is also mentioned incidentally, are the two deities who maintain special and intimate connections with kingship. Moreover, Indra is also described as becoming broad himself; having drunk Soma he increases in size and felt a bull ⁶⁴⁴).

There is, in addition to the above, room for the observation that texts used in ceremonies which serve to establish a sovereign contain references to the quarters of the sky, the sky, the earth, the world in general. Thus a couple of Vedic stanzas ⁶⁴⁵), reference to which has already been made, contains the words: fixed are sky, earth, world; fixed is this king of the people etc.: although this text is, of course, intended to fix the king in his realm, and although the sky etc., like the mountains which are also mentioned, are referred to as models of fixity, passages like AV. 4, 8, 4 (accompanying the consecration) “do thou stride out unto the great quarters”; 3, 4, 1 “let all the directions call thee, O king”; *ibid.* 2; 7 (see above) are significant enough. Indra, though as a lokapāla lord of the eastern quarter, is considered king of all the regions of the sky, e.g. in an atharvaṇic ‘hymn’ ⁶⁴⁶) which is intended to secure victory on behalf of an earthly ruler. The four great guardians of the regions of the sky, i.e. of space, who are called “overseers of existence”, are invoked to release those praying from every narrowness and distress (*amhas*) and from perdition, and to give well-being to cattle, to men, to the world ⁶⁴⁷).

Hence also such terms and events as a *digjaya*-, “the conquest of various countries in all directions by a paramount king”; or *digvijaya*:- the latter being also the title of a section of the Mahābhārata in which the victories of Yudhiṣṭhira are described ⁶⁴⁸).

Words for “broad, wide” ⁶⁴⁹) very often came to express such meanings as “important, mighty, powerful, illustrious, etc.”; cf. *viśāla*- “spacious, extensive, broad, wide” and “great, powerful, mighty, important, eminent, illustrious” (e.g. of a royal family, also as a proper noun of princes and rulers); *vipula*- “large, extensive”,

644) RV. 10, 94, 9; cf. also 1, 55, 1; the gods: 10, 88, 1.

645) RV. 10, 173, 4 f. and AV. 6, 88, 1 f.

646) AV. 6, 98, 3.

647) AV. 1, 31.

648) Mbh. 2 a. 25-32.

649) For an ample discussion of the importance of this idea in ancient Indian thought see my *Aspects of early Viṣṇuism*, p. 61 ff.; 68 ff.

and “important, noble (race)” ; *prthu-* “broad, wide” and “great, important, abundant, clever, dexterous”; cf. also *vistara-* “extensive” and as a subst. “extension”: (plur.) “great wealth or riches”; *āyati-* “stretching, extension, length” could, according to Indian lexicographers, also mean “majesty, dignity”⁶⁵⁰). The nouns *vibhūti-* and *vibhava-*, deriving from *vi-bhavati* “to expand, be developed or manifest” acquired the sense of “mighty, powerful; expansion, abundance, royal dignity” and “rich, powerful, power, might, greatness, exalted position, dominion, majesty” respectively; *vibhū-* a word for “king” also means “far-extending, all-pervading, omnipresent, plentiful, able, effective”.

It is most important that the applications and limitations of the terms for “majesty, might, power, glory, greatness, etc.” should be clearly apprehended, for otherwise we are in danger of taking them thoughtlessly to be used honoris causa everywhere. Thus *mahiman-* “greatness, glory, majesty” is in the Ṛgveda an oft-used attribute of Indra, Savitar, Agni, the Waters, Dawn, and other deities, signifying that they are “great”. At a later period⁶⁵¹) the word is used in connection with kings, and although terms of this semantic group are generally speaking liable to depreciate, the content makes it in cases like the following clear that the king who is characterized by *mahiman-* is considered a being of exalted rank: “having heard the *mahiman-* of the exalted rājarṣis of old and having known their acquisition of the world by the performance of sacrifices ...” In a brāhmaṇa⁶⁵²) the king is explicitly called “greatness” (*mahiman-*).

(*To be continued*)

650) In Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita* it is used in the sense of “heroism”.

651) E.g. *Mbh.* 2, 13, 2.

652) *Śat. Br.* 13, 2, 11, 2.

THE OVERCROWDED EARTH

BY

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*To Prof. Raffaele Pettazzoni
with affection and admiration*

I

The enigmatic and quite impenetrable mystery of Death has agitated the mind of man since time immemorial, calling forth emotions of anxiety, awe and apprehensiveness. "Death and its denial—Immortality", says B. Malinowski, "have always formed, as they form today, the most poignant theme of man's forebodings." ¹⁾ The Talmudic sages often speak of the "Dread of the Angel of Death" ²⁾, and the Midrash Koheleth Rabbah interprets Eccles. III 11 to mean: "He hath set a *Dread of the Angel of Death* in their heart" ³⁾.

It is a well known fact that primitive man declines to recognize Death as a normal, typical phenomenon, as a natural, matter-of-course form of existence ⁴⁾, as an outcome of the relentless, uncompromising cosmic law of birth, growth and dissolution. In the cultures of aboriginal peoples everywhere we find the very important concept that Death is rather quite an abnormal event. "It is with death and its premonitions that the Azande most frequently and feelingly associate witchcraft, and it is only with regard to death that witchcraft evokes

1) *Magic, Science and Religion and Other Essays*, Glencoe, Illinois, 1948, p. 29.

2) *Mo'ed Katan*, 28a ("Bi'atuta d'Malak Ha-Mawet").

3) *Eccles. Rabbah* III, 11, 3.

4) It is worth while emphasizing that the old *Midrash Tanhuma*, Shemot 17, in contradistinction to this primitive world view, speaks of the quite natural, *primordial* existence of the Angel of Death, referring the phrase "and Darkness was upon the face of the deep" (Gen. I 2) to the Death Angel, see *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, Berlin 1928, I 774 "Der Tod bestand als Naturgesetz am Anfang der Welterschöpfung".

violent retaliation. Witchcraft, oracles and magic attain their height of significance, as procedures and ideologies, at death." 5).

Originally man was immortal. A Bhuiya myth of Middle India relates that in the days when there was no death, Mahaprabhu, the Supreme Being, came to the Middle World and said to the people: "Now you have got to begin dying". They replied: "We are willing, but we don't know how to..." 6). According to a Juang myth of Dhenkanal State, Middle India, man is asked by the poisonous centipede (i.e. Death): "Do you know what dying is?" "No", answers the man, "I have never heard of it. What is it? Teach me, brother, and I will then know how to die..." 7).

How did Death (very often Personified) enter the world of men? The manifold explanations and answers given by early and primitive man to this question constitute the various types of myths dealing with the Origin of Death 8).

Elsewhere I have had occasion to deal comprehensively with all the varying aspects and motifs bearing on Death Personified in an enormous body of folkloristic and ethnological material, such as legends, myths, folktales, fables, proverbs, exempla, drolleries, folk-songs, folk-beliefs, folk-traditions, superstitions, etc., gathered around the full-fledged personality of Death 9), with special emphasis on Sammael and 'Azra'il, the Jewish and Moslem Soul-Snatchers respectively. Here I shall discuss only one particular type of myth, namely that one endeavouring to make the mystery of Death intelligible in terms of some sort of *Malthusian* exigency, or in terms of overpopulation and economic pressure.

Earth becomes overcrowded, some check has to be put on mankind increasing to an alarming extent. Thus the only solution is Death. A Bhuiya myth from Nagira, Pal Lahara State (Middle India), expresses the same idea: ... "No one died, no one could die. People

5) E. E. EVANS-PRITCHARD, *Witchcraft, Oracles and Magic among the Azande*, Oxford 1937, p. 541.

6) V. ELWIN, *Myths of Middle India*, Madras 1949, p. 415, No. 3.

7) V. ELWIN, *op. cit.*, pp. 421 f., No. 14.

8) STITH THOMPSON, *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature*, Helsinki 1932-1936, A 1335 f. Cf. also "Additions", *ibid.*, vol. V, p. 441, and especially the revised and enlarged edition of Stith Thompson's magnum opus, Copenhagen, 1955; A 1335. 8.

9) *The Angel of Death: Studies in Jewish, Moslem and World Folklore* (in manuscript).

increased in number so much that there was no room for them to live. Mahaprabhu thought in his mind: "Everyone is being born and no one is dying; where will there be room for all these people?" Mahaprabhu avails himself of the good services of a Centipede (= Death) and thus "Death entered the world" ¹⁰). This vindication of Death, expressed both in ancient literary texts and in oral folk-literature, is, of course, much more reasonable and logical than the numerous, sometimes very trivial reasons and incidents current among aboriginal peoples accounting for the origin of death. This *economic* justification of death clearly testifies to the fact that in some parts of the world primitive man has quite realized the vast importance of instituting some order, or some equilibrium in the world of men, "that as many men as died so many should be born", as a Gond myth of Barangel, Ganjam District (India) says ¹¹), or as the Eskimo of Greenland emphasize that the First Woman who brought Death said: "Let these die to make room for their posterity" ¹²). It is quite probable that the widespread motif current in creation and origin of death myths, stating that a child refuses to recognize his rejuvenated mother, so that the latter has to put on again her cast integument, thus resuming her previous withered shape, expresses the same notion of old people having to die in order to make room for the younger generation of men ¹³). The same idea reappears in a myth recorded among the natives of Poso, a district of Central Celebes, where it is stated i.a.: "A voice from Heaven resounded, saying: "Because you have chosen the banana your life shall be like its life. When the banana tree has offspring, the parent stem dies, so shall you die, and your children shall step into your places" " ¹⁴). In the controversy myth of the Mantras of the Malay Peninsula the proponent for death, taking a more Malthusian view of the matter, pleads: "No, let men die like the banana, leaving their offspring behind" ¹⁵).

10) V. ELWIN, *op. cit.*, p. 416, No. 5; cf. also ib. p. 416, Nos 6 and 7.

11) V. ELWIN, *Tribal Myths of Orissa*, Bombay 1954, p. 510. No. 4.

12) *ERE* IV, 412.

13) See e.g. J. G. FRAZER, *Folk-Lore in the Old Testament*, abridged ed. London 1923, p. 28.

14) J. G. FRAZER, *The Belief in Immortality and the Worship of the Dead*, p. 73.

15) J. G. FRAZER, *Folk-Lore in the Old Testament*, p. 29.

A modern Yiddish folk-tradition recorded among Polish Jewry ¹⁶⁾ expresses this notion quite adequately (in conformity with older Midrashic and Agadic sources): "As soon as a new soul is brought into being an old one has to pass away". A real case is mentioned: As soon as the head of the family died, his daughter was disburdened of her child. According to the same source when a mother—in-law is sick and her daughter—in-law is about to give birth to a child, the mother—in-law will have to die before her daughter—in-law is delivered of child. A certain solid, stable state of balance and equilibrium has to be maintained in this world of mortals! Jesus' retort to Salome who inquired how long should Death prevail is rather significant: "As long as women bear children" ¹⁷⁾. Cf. also Buddha's, words: "It is impossible that what is born should not die ¹⁸⁾", or the words of Eccles. I 4: "One generation passeth away and another one cometh, but Earth abideth forever".

Some specimens of that type of myth, justifying Death in demographic or economic terms ¹⁹⁾, will provide much clarification, and, I trust, will also throw some fresh light on a certain obscure myth in the Old Testament.

II

One of the most dramatic myths narrated in the Mahābhārata is one accounting for the origin of Death Personified as a woman. The story seems to have been quite popular and widespread in Ancient India. The Indian epic relates it even twice (Mahābh. VII 52-54 and XII 256 ff.), and we shall see later that even nowadays it is widely diffused among many aboriginal tribes of India, whose mythology is quite saturated with old Hindu ideas, notions and motifs kept alive for centuries. The gist of the myth is: Men created by Brahma increase incessantly and multiply to an alarming extent on the face of the earth. Overcrowded Earth lodges a complaint with Brahma of being unable to bear such a tremendous burden of throngs of people. Brahma is rather perplexed. He cannot conceive of any adequate

16) H. HAYES, *Gleibungen un Minhogim in Varbindung mitn Toit, Yivo Filologische Schriften*, Wilna 1928, II 287c.

17) M. R. JAMES, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, Oxford 1926, p. 11.

18) *ERE* IV, 446.

19) See H. HUBER, *Anthropos* 46 (1951), p. 455.

measure by means of which he might considerably diminish and reduce the number of people on earth. In a vast fit of rage he is about to destroy the whole of mankind. Shiva intervenes on behalf of mankind, asking Brahma to mitigate his wrath and to withdraw the fire of his indignation. At last a woman goes forth from Brahma's body, a rather beautiful, black-eyed lady whom Brahma appoints as Goddess of Death, and whose function will be to annihilate people, the young and the old, the stupid and the clever, the rich and the poor alike. When the Goddess of Death learnt about this nomination she burst into tears and cried bitterly, imploring her Creator to release her from this disgraceful job of killing innocent people. She is afraid that she will be cursed and hated by mortals whose tears will consume and burn her flesh forever. Brahma promises to create all kind of assistants who will facilitate Death's task. He creates the various Messengers of Death in the shape of numerous, wasting Diseases ²⁰), Hatred, Greed, Violence, Jealousy, Envy, etc. All these are instrumental in the annihilation of mankind. The Goddess of Death will thus not be blamed by people, on the contrary, they will welcome her with much pleasure, because she releases them from all sorts of trouble ²¹).

M. Winternitz ²²) considers this myth to be of considerable antiquity, because of the fact that Brahma appears therein as the Supreme Being, as the only Creator, whereas Shiva does not play such a prominent part, being rather Brahma's subordinate. A. H. Krappe ²³), on

20) For Diseases represented as Death's Messengers see e.g. AARNE-THOMPSON, *The Types of the Folktale*, Helsinki, 1928, Type 335. This European folktale of vast diffusion is really of Indian origin, cf. e.g. M. WINTERNITZ, *Geschichte der indischen Literatur*, II (Leipzig 1920), p. 49; cf. also J. HERTEL, *Ausgewählte Erzählungen aus Hēmacandras Pariṣṭapāraṇa*, Leipzig 1908, I 94 f.; P. P. ARGENTI and H. J. ROSE, *The Folklore of Chios*, Cambridge 1949, pp. 554 ff., No. 37; PAULI, *Schimpf und Ernst*, ed. J. BOLTE, Berlin 1924, No. 267. RENÉ BASSET is quite wrong in maintaining that this folktale is uncommon in Arabic and other Oriental folklore (*Revue des traditions populaires*, VII 408). Numerous Indian and Arabic versions are known to me; see e.g. GHAZALI, *Mukashafat al-Qulūb*, p. 15; ABU NUʿEIM, *Hilyat al-Awliyāʾ* III 291; Thaʿlabi, *Kiṣaṣ al-Anbiyāʾ*, p. 184; KISAʿI, *ʿAdjāʾib al-Malakut*, (Ms. of the Jewish National and University Library, Jerusalem), fol. 47; IBSHIH, *Kitāb al-Mustatraf*, Cairo 1935, II 280, line 13, etc., etc.

21) A. ESSIGMANN, *Sagen und Märchen Altindiens*, Berlin 1915, pp. 3 ff. P. DEUSSEN, *Vier philosophische Texte des Mahābhārata*, pp. 404-413.

22) M. WINTERNITZ, *op. cit.*, I, 339.

23) A.H. KRAPPE, *Mythologie Universelle*, Paris 1930, p. 153.

the other hand, regards this story to be of a more recent nature, because according to his opinion, it predicates an advanced stage of civilization. This argument is, however, unconvincing.

Elsewhere ²⁴⁾ I have dealt with one of the most widespread Moslem legends, whose proper connotation has been somewhat obliterated and its contents modified in conformity with the basic tenets of Islām. The preceding Mahābhārata myth, as well as many versions of the Earth Diver motif ²⁵⁾ throw much light on the following Moslem creation myth ²⁶⁾: Allah orders the angel Gabriel to descend to Earth and to fetch a handful of dust for the creation of man. On the Devil's (= Iblīs-Diabolos) advice Earth adjures Gabriel that he dare not take any dust from her. Gabriel returns to Allah empty-handed. The same fate befalls Allah's second messenger Michael. Only the third divine messenger, the angel 'Azrā'il does not pay any heed to Earth's solemn oath, but fetches a handful of different varieties of dust out of which man is created. 'Azrā'il is praised by Allah for this feat of his, and as a reward he is appointed as Angel of Death in charge of snatching the souls of all mortals.

Mirkhond ²⁷⁾ adds the following significant details to this creation myth: As soon as 'Azrā'il learnt about his commission he began to weep, saying: "Among the children of men there will be prophets and saints who will undoubtedly hate me on this account". Allah rejoined: "I shall send so many complaints and diseases upon mankind that on account of their afflictions they will entertain no enmity for thee".

A modern Jewish folk-tradition ²⁸⁾ states that at first the Angel of Death was quite reluctant to accept the task imposed on him. He was afraid that people would bespatter and slander him. Only after the Lord had visited upon mortals all kinds of diseases, thus showing

24) HAIM SCHWARZBAUM, *Jewish and Moslem Sources of a Falasha Creation Myth* in the forthcoming collective volume of *Studies in Jewish Folklore*, edited by R. PATAI and D. NOY.

25) STITH THOMPSON, *op. cit.*, A 812.

26) Cf. TABARĪ, *Annales* ed. DE GOEJE, I 87; KISĀ'Ī, *Kiṣaṣ al Anbiya'*, ed. EISENBERG, Leiden 1922, pp. 22 f.; THA'LABĪ, *Arāis al-Majālis*, Cairo 1325, p. 15, and many other references cited in my paper mentioned in note 24, where all the numerous variants in Jewish, Moslem, Falasha folk-literature and in world folklore are indicated.

27) Cf. *Rauzat-us-Safā*, transl. by REHATSEK I, 41.

28) H. HAYES, *op. cit.*, II, 286.

to man the real causes of death, did the Death Angel consent to carry out his duties. According to a Yoruba myth of S. Nigeria, God is said to have excited a strong man called Death to cudgel all whom God pointed out to him. He did his work well, but his name became so opprobrious that he resigned. God then gave him helpers, the various Diseases. So now it is not Death himself, but one of the Diseases who is said to cause people to die²⁹).

Although the above-mentioned Moslem myth does not state expressly that Death is indispensable, nevertheless it is implicitly an attempt at emphasizing that it is precisely the Death-Angel and not any other divine messenger who succeeds in combating Earth, snatching the handful of dust or the stuff for the creation of mortals. The mythographer was just anxious to stress the fact that only Death should be praised for being so courageous, efficient and instrumental in the creation of man. In other words: at the very moment of his birth man already carries within himself the germs of death. In Jewish folklore, too, we find the same idea: the very angel who is so busy and active at birth of man reappears when the time arrives for the same person to quit this world. The Angel of Birth who is also Angel of Death asks the person who is about to depart this life: "Dost thou recognize me?"³⁰). The Midrashic interpretation of Eccles. III 2, "A time to be born and a time to die", that is to say, from the very time of birth emanates the time of death, also provides much clarification in this context and is rather significant³¹).

It is interesting to note that just as in the Mahābhārata XII 256 ff Bhishma comforts Yudhiṣṭhira by narrating the above mentioned myth so does a Moslem "lady of rank" in a modern version of the preceding Moslem myth³²). It is quite obvious that Mirkhonds sequel to the Moslem legend is of Indian derivation, and is rather foreign to the spirit of Islam, according to which 'Azrā'il is too faithful and obedient a servant of Allah to venture to argue with his Creator over the malevolent task entrusted to him. As a matter of fact 'Azrā'il is being regarded as a rather beneficial angel, quite on the same level as his fellows Ga-

29) H. HUBER, *op. cit.*, p. 476, No. 7; see also P. N. BORATAV, *Notes sur Azrail dans le folklore turc, Oriens* IV (1951), p. 60.

30) L. GINZBERG, *The Legends of the Jews*, I, Philadelphia 1909, 55-59.

31) *Kohelet Rabbah* III, 2, 3.

32) J. E. HANAUER, *Folk-Lore of the Holy Land*, London 1935, pp. 130 f.

riel, Michael and Israfel. He is very happy to carry out the will of Allah.

The modern Indian versions of this myth are very interesting. The Bondos of the Koraput District of India relate that when Mahaprabhu first created men on earth and filled it with living creatures, they did not die and the earth got too crowded. Mahaprabhu tried hard to send Death to the world, but he could not think how to do it. On his wife's advice he took five mangoes from a tree and put the seed of death in them and planted them in man's world. After twelve years the trees bore fruit. When men ate the mangoes they began to die³³). The Ganjam District Gonds of India relate that the first fifty-three scores of men created by Mahaprabhu were immortal. Even when the immortal fly, or "life-fly" bit a man he could not die. Mahaprabhu appoints Jam Raja, i.e. Yama, to rule over Jampur, the City of Death, but during twelve years not a single soul has been transferred to him. Jam Raja vehemently rebukes Mahaprabhu and the latter has to create a crow from the dirt of his body, sending it to seize the life-fly. As soon as the crow brings it, Mahaprabhu shuts it up in a cage. In this way men became the prey of Jam Raja, and thus the balance of the cosmic order is restored. "As many as died, so many were born"³⁴). This myth may be allied to a very dramatic and colourful Assamese folktale recorded in a peculiarly attractive manner by R. G. Lewisohn³⁵). Here Yama is much more aggressive than in the preceding myth. In the beginning Brahma created man and made him absolutely perfect, without any defect or blemish. Yama waited in vain for anyone to die, but nobody died, because man had been created by Brahma to live forever. Yama, weary with waiting, sent two messengers personified as Diseases³⁶) to destroy men, but, like Gabriel and Michael in the Moslem myth, they returned empty-handed and ashamed because of the frustration of their job. They told Yama that they had been unable to approach men, much less attack them. As time went on Brahma continued to create men until the whole earth was so full that it could hardly bear the burden of them all. Yet

33) V. ELWIN, *Tribal Myths of Orissa*, 508 f.

34) V. ELWIN, *op. cit.*, pp. 509 ff.

35) "Folklore of the Assamese" in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. V, pp. 352 ff.

36) Cf. above note 20.

no one died and Yama grew impatient. The words of his two messengers made him so angry that he mounted a water-buffalo and went in search of Brahma. As soon as he met Brahma he seized him and began to beat him about the head with a rod. Brahma tried to escape but Yama (like 'Azrā'il's behaviour towards Earth) grabbed him, saying: "What kind of people are you creating? Not one of them dies and sickness has no effect upon them". At last Brahma promised to create men with some weakness, so that they may easily come to Yama's city to dwell there.

A Hill Saora myth³⁷⁾ also emphasizes that in the days before men began to die the population had greatly increased. Then Kittung sent Death to the world and men and animals began to die. A Godaba myth also expresses the Creator's worry: "if people don't die, there will soon be no room for them in the world³⁸⁾. A Koya legend from Dudimetla, Koraput District of India states i.a. that at first there was no disease among men and no pain. When Bhima saw this he went to Deur and said: "Men have nothing to trouble them. They are too happy. What they need is some pain and sickness"³⁹⁾. Another Koya story from Chirpalli, Koraput Distr. says i.a. that at first men increased in number and prosperity. The minor gods were living with Deur and he found it a great burden. Deur decides to get rid of the lesser deities. He orders them to descend to Earth and to torment people with all kinds of diseases and plagues. The gods did accordingly, and men had to appease them with plenty of food. This is the origin of Disease. It is quite possible that Yahwe⁴⁰⁾ acted in a similar way: he sent down on earth the minor deities (Bene Elohim) who consorted with the daughters of men. This gave rise to the curtailment of human life. This is, however, only a conjecture. We shall see soon that this Genesis myth really contains the overpopulation motif. A Kharia creation myth also emphasizes that people multiplied enormously and soon there was a scarcity of food⁴¹⁾. According to a Juang myth of the Keonjhar State of Middle India originally men did not die. Mahapurub was very much worried over the vast increase

37) V. ELWIN, *Tribal Myths of Orissa*, p. 336, No. 50.

38) *Ibid.*, p. 554, No. 4.

39) *Ibid.*, p. 53, No. 31.

40) Cf. Genesis VI, 1-3.

41) R. C. ROY, *The Kharias*, Ranchi 1937, pp. 414 f.

of people: "How can so many people live in such a small place?" He is obliged to send Jamudeota (= Yama) down to earth who succeeds in bringing death into the world by means of a ruse ⁴²). The Bahnars of Eastern Cochin, China, also stress the point that the earth was peopled very fast and men multiplied to such an extent that a certain lizard could not take his walks abroad without somebody treading on his tail. This vexed the wily creature so much that he pronounced categorically: "Let men die outright" ⁴³). According to a Lakher myth originally all men were immortal. They however increased too much and fought among themselves and were wicked, till one day Khazangpa got angry and said: "Let all men in the world die!" ⁴⁴).

In the Vogul creation myth Diseases and Death are being regarded as a blessing or a boon conferred on mortals by Numi Tarem, the Supreme Being. The Voguls relate that after the Creator had introduced the institution of marriage ⁴⁵) men began to multiply exceedingly on the face of the earth. Soon there was no living room on the holy earth created by Numi Tarem's word. Scarcity of food and awful poverty started to trouble mankind increasing incessantly ("wie ein dichter Schwarm Mücken wimmeln sie, wie ein dichter Schwarm Bremsen summen sie"). In order to alleviate man's deplorable plight Numi-Tarem sends down Xul'äter to mankind. The latter, being the Demon of Disease and Death, sows the seeds of sickness on earth and as a result multitudes of people are being destroyed, thus leaving room for the moderate remnants to live under spacious conditions. As many mortals as pass away so many come to be and thus some stable order and equilibrium are introduced into this world of ours ⁴⁶).

Significant parallels to these myths are afforded by numerous American Indian traditions. Thus, e.g. in a Navaho myth, Coyote, who plays a conspicuous part in North American Indian mythology,

42) V. ELWIN, *Myths of Middle India*, Madras 1949, p. 421 No. 13. This myth belongs to the well-known cycle of folktales in which Death outwits man. I have dealt with this theme adequately in my book mentioned above in note 9 (in a chapter entitled "*The Wiles of the Angel of Death*").

43) J. G. FRAZER, *FOT*, abridged ed., pp. 30 f.

44) N. E. PARRY, *The Lakheres*, London 1932, p. 488.

45) Cf. Gen. VI 1-3.

46) Cf. B. MUNKACSI, *Die Weltgottheiten der wogulischen Mythologie, Keleti Szemle, Revue Orientale pour les études ouralo-altaïques*, IX (Budapest 1908), pp. 242 ff. See also K. F. KARJALAINEN, *Die Religion der Jugra Völker*, Helsinki 1921 (Folklore Fellow Comm. No. 41) I, 71 f.

rationalizes: "If we all live and continue to increase as we did in the past, the earth will be too small to hold us, and there will be no room for the cornfields. It is better that each of us should live but a limited time on this earth ⁴⁷⁾, then leave and make room for the children". The people realized the wisdom of his words and resigned themselves ⁴⁸⁾. A Coeur D'Alène myth puts it in a rather naïve way: "there are always some being born and some dying at the same time, always some living ones and some dead ones. Had the twin children been allowed to finish their controversy about life and death, one would have prevailed over the other, and there would have been either no life or no death... ⁴⁹⁾. The Cherokee Indians of North America say that when man was formed the Creator intended that he be immortal. The Sun, however, objected to this, because there would not be room enough for people, and therefore they should better die. The Cochiti Indians relate that a child became sick and they did not know what was the trouble with him. They had never seen sickness before. They asked their Heavenly Mother to take away this trouble. The latter proclaimed: "The child is dead. If your people did not die, the world would fill up and there would be no place for you to live" ⁵⁰⁾. In a Wintu myth too Coyote argues strongly in favour of absolute death ⁵¹⁾, just as he does in a Caddo legend emphasizing that this little world was not large enough to hold all of the people, and if the people who died came back to life, there would not be food enough for all ⁵²⁾.

It is interesting to note that this motif of overpopulation appears not only in the preceding types of creation myths. It is also very frequent in world folklore. In many versions of widely diffused folktales ⁵³⁾, particularly in many European countries, the hero

47) Cf. Gen. VI, 3.

48) G. A. REICHARD, *Navaho Religion*, New York, 1950, I 42.

49) M. ASTROV, *The Winged Serpent, an Anthology of American Indian Prose and Poetry*, New York, 1946, p. 84.

50) RUTH BENEDICT, *Tales of the Cochiti Indians*, Washington 1931, p. 5.

51) M. ASTROV, *op. cit.*, p. 261.

52) *Ibid.*, pp. 117 ff.

53) See e.g. AARNE-THOMPSON, *op. cit.*, Type 330 and 331; cf. also J. KRZYŻANOWSKI, *Polska bajka ludowa w układzie systematycznym* (= Type Index to Polish Folktales), Warsaw 1947, Type 330A, No. 16. See also S. THOMPSON, *The Folktale*, New York, 1946, 45 ff. and the lovely Yiddish folktale translated by N. Ausubel in his *Treasury of Jewish Folklore*, New York 1948, pp. 216-218.

tricks Death (Personified) into a magic knapsack, or makes him stick to a magic bench or a magic tree, or just imprisons him in a bottle. As a result of this ruse Death's functions and activities are suspended⁵⁴), the Earth shudders and groans under the tremendous weight of the throngs of people, just as a Polish folktale puts it: "the more men multiplied the worse grew the plight of mankind, and very soon an acute shortage of bread was felt on the Overcrowded Earth"⁵⁵). It is also well known that when Death came to take the crafty Sisyphus the latter chained him up, so that nobody died till Ares released Death again⁵⁶). We also learn from a very important Indian source that Shiva once in a fit of rage destroyed Death. Soon he was obliged to create him again, because people were in great need of Death⁵⁷). We also learn from N. Manucci's *Storia do Mogor* summarized by A. Wesselski⁵⁸) that Shiva once killed Yama, „nun ist die Menschheit ohne Vertilger, und sie vermehrt sich so rasch, dass die Erde unter ihrer Last ächzt". Shiva has had to revive Yama. The same notion crops up in another story in the *Mahābhārata* I 197, 1-8, where it is narrated i.a. that Yama was once very occupied in Heaven, being engrossed in some devotional or sacrificial business. In his absence all his functions on earth cease entirely, people increase to an alarming extent, the gods apply to Brahma and Yama is obliged to resume his mundane job... Similarly in the Talmudic legend of Rabbi Joshua Ben Levi (Ketuboth 77), the latter is ordered by God to return the stolen sword to the Angel of Death, because the world is awfully in need of it. One of the most current ideas in the rich Agadic and Midrashic literature is that God looked upon all that He had made and said: "*Death is Good*" (*Tov Mavet* instead of *Tov Meod* of Gen. I 31). Rabbi Meir also noted in the margin of his

54) A. WESSELSKI, *Der Gott ausser Funktion*, *Archiv Orientalní*, I 300 ff.. S. THOMPSON, *Motif-Index A* 173. I, vol. V, p. 440.

55) *Wisla* V (1891) p. 743; J. KRZYŻANOWSKI, *op. cit.*, II, 40, Type 330A, No. 31; See also WALDAU's *Böhmische Märchen* Prag 1860, p. 242 („Gut dass es den Tod auf Erden gibt").

56) Schol. to *Ilias* 6, 153 = *Fragmenta histor. Graec.* I 91 No. 78; PRELLER, *Griechische Mythologie* II, 76; H. J. ROSE, *A Handbook of Greek Mythology*, London 1950, p. 294, Type 38.

57) SOMADEVA, *Kathasaritsagara*, transl. by C. H. TAWNEY, Calcutta, 1883-84, II 187.

58) *Archiv Orientalní* I, 303 f.

Torah Scroll the word Mavet (Death) instead of Meod (Gen. I 31)⁵⁹). In the mystical *Book of Splendour* (Sepher Ha-Zohar III 63a) we read i.a. "And God saw everything that He had made, and behold it was very good" (Gen. I 31), this refers to the Death Angel who cannot be disposed of because he is quite indispensable... The Midrash *Lekah Tov* ad loc. comments that God looked upon the world and saw that Death was very good for the creatures.

Death, however, is vindicated not only by God, but by mortals too. In a Moslem legend it is stated that certain people came to their prophet imploring him to appeal to Allah that He should free them from Death. Allah paid attention to the desire of these people and suspended the activities of Death. The earth soon became overcrowded, people had to feed their fathers and grandfathers, there was a terrible famine and the people were in such a deplorable plight that they asked their prophet to intervene on their behalf with Allah that He should revive Death who might release them from all their misfortunes and troubles⁶⁰). A similar tale is current among the Muria of Masora Bastar State of Middle India, who say that in the old days the Muria did not die, yet could not keep their youth. They sat in the courts of their houses propped up with bits of wood; they could not use their hands or feet, and their gruel had to be poured into their mouths by their relatives. At last they went to Mahapurub and asked him to give them the gift of death⁶¹). A Moslem widespread legend of the Patriarch Abraham relates how 'Azrā'il, the Death Angel succeeds in outwitting Abraham by assuming the guise of an old, decrepit person. Abraham welcomes his guest with enthusiasm and puts the best food for him, but the old, crippled man puts the food into his eyes instead of putting it into his mouth. Abraham is afraid that he will also become so disabled and infirm. He therefore asks Allah to bestow upon him the boon of Death immediately. 'Azrā'il is thus able to gain access to him and to seize his soul⁶²).

59) *Genesis Rabbah* 9, 11; 30, 8; *Ex. Rabbah* 2, 4, etc.

60) Cf. MAJLISI, *Kitāb Biḥār al-Anwar*, III 124. There is also a similar Talmudic legend of Satan who is identical with the Death Angel, see *Yoma* 69a.

61) V. ELWIN, *Myths of Middle India*, p. 426 No. 22.

62) KISĀ'I, *op. cit.*, p. 152; THA'LABI, *Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'*, p. 55; TABARI, *Annales*, I, 348; *Chronique de Tabari* trad. sur la version persane par H. ZOTENBERG, Paris 1967 I, 196 f.; G. WEIL, *Biblische Legenden der Musselmänner*, Frankfurt 1845, p. 98; IBN ATHIR, *Chronicon* I, 87; MAJLISI, *Biḥār al Anwār* V 134.

III

At last let us consider a somewhat obscure myth, having a slight varnish of ancient Semitic mythology, which is narrated in Genesis VI 1-3. It should be emphasized that the preceding creation and origin of death myths prove most helpful in clearing up the spirit and connotation of this interesting Biblical myth. To my mind that passage in Genesis just belongs to one of those myths trying to explain the phenomenon of Death in terms of overpopulation. The above mentioned Vogul myth e.g. stating that after the marriage institution had been introduced men started to multiply on the face of Earth, bears a close resemblance to the Genesis myth. Thus from a comparison with the preceding parallel creation myths we may reasonably infer that in the beginning Yahweh purposed to make man immortal. It is also probable that this happy privilege of immortality was once within reach of mankind in its early age, when the Bene Elohim, i.e. the minor deities had consorted with the daughters of men. Mortals have thereby acquired superhuman or divine qualities of immortality etc. Very soon, however, "men began to multiply on the face of the Earth". Yahweh realizes the danger and the tragic consequences of this alarming problem of overpopulation. He therefore decides to deprive man of eternal life and to withdraw this doubtful "boon" of immortality. In many myths of the origin of death we have a definite controversy between two characters, one being in favour of death, the other preferring eternal life. Usually the proponent for death wins the controversy. In the Mantra myth of the Malay Peninsula the controversy is submitted to the Lord of the Underworld who decides in favour of death⁶³). Yahweh's words (Gen. VI 3): "*My spirit shall not abide in man for ever*" are just a remonstrance or rather a decision of the same nature as that expressed by Coyote or by any other proponent for death in the numerous controversy myths of the origin of death. Of course neither the Bene Elohim nor their offspring win the controversy, but only Yahweh wins it, and thus man's "days shall be a hundred and twenty years" only. This curtailment of the life-span of man is just the best solution to the overpopulation problem.

Post-biblical authors read the story of the Fallen Angels into this

63) Cf. J. G. FRAZER, *FOT* abridged ed., p. 29.

text of Genesis VI 1-3. As a matter of fact it contains no hint whatsoever of angelic sin or of rebel angels. The intermarriages of the minor deities (= Bene Elohim) and the daughters of man are quite unobjectionable from the moral point of view, and are not censured by Yahweh as being a sin or any deviation from rectitude. Yahweh would have been quite satisfied with these intermarriages had they not entailed some sort of immortality conducing to an overpopulated and overcrowded earth. Yahweh cannot tolerate such a miserable state of conditions on earth. He cannot help curtailing man's life. Thus we may say that this Genesis myth is nothing else than an origin of death myth, explained in terms of overpopulation. This important point has been overlooked by Th. H. Gaster⁶⁴), whose interpretation of this myth does not explain why has Yahweh had to deprive man of immortality. My interpretation is in absolute keeping with the initial sentence: "And it came to pass when men began to multiply on the face of Earth"... Yahweh called Death into being or curtailed the life-span of man. This curtailment is a real boon or blessing bestowed by Yahweh on man and the Overcrowded Earth.

The same idea reappears in the Apocryphal Fourth Book of Ezra (V 43 f.) where the Seer asks the Lord: "Couldst thou not have created all generations of men at once — those who have been, those who now exist, and those who are to be?" In reply he is told "that the world could not hold at once all those created in it"⁶⁵). A Jewish Midrash expresses the same notion quite nicely: When Earth heard that man was to increase and multiply, to replenish the earth and to subdue it (Gen. I 28) it started to shudder and quake crying before its Creator: "Sovereign of all Worlds! I have not the power to feed the multitude of mankind". The Lord allayed Earth saying: "I and thou together will find food for the throngs of people". Accordingly, time was divided between God and Earth; God took the night, and Earth took the day. Refreshing sleep nourishes and strengthens man, while Earth brings forth produce with the help of God, who waters

64) Cf. *Thespis: Ritual, Myth and Drama in the Ancient Near East*, New York, 1950, p. 327. See also his *Oldest Stories in the World*, New York, 1952, p. 142 f.

65) *Liber Assiri Salathielis*, i.e. *Fourth Book of Ezra*, transl. into Hebrew by A. KAMINKA, Tel-Aviv 1936, pp. 31 ff.; R. H. CHARLES, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, Oxford 1913, II 573.

it ⁶⁶). Here again a comparison with a Bulgarian folktale recorded by. I. Danev ⁶⁷) will provide much clarification: When the Lord created the world there was as yet no night, only day was prevailing all the time. As there was no night, man did nothing else but tilled the earth incessantly and did not sleep at all. When Earth saw that she could not provide enough food for man she complained bitterly before the Lord saying: "I am quite unable to nourish so many people". God replied however: "Die Menschheit nährt sich von dir, du aber verzehrst die Menschheit; weil es dir aber schwer fällt, so werde ich das Land aufteilen und Tag und Nacht schaffen" ⁶⁸). A Rengma Naga legend describes i.a. how "at the beginning of time day and night were the same", and the dead lived in the same world as the living. This led to a situation compelling God to divide time into day and night, giving the day to the living, and the night to the dead. "And he moved the dead to another world too, for when the dead and the living lived in the same world they were so numerous that there was danger of there not being enough land to jhum" ⁶⁹). A Juang myth of Kirtanpur, Dhenkanal State of India, states that at first no one died and there was no sleep in those days. An old man used to spend all day and all night counting oil seeds. Mahapurub sent a Rawatin to sell curds "having sleep-medicine in them". The old man bought the curds, and after he had eaten them sleep came to him and he died ⁷⁰). The Eskimos of Greenland say that in the beginning there were two brothers, one of whom suggested that there shall be night and there shall be day, and men shall die one after another". The second one insisted that "there shall be no day, but only night all the time, and men shall live forever. After a long struggle the lover of light defeated the lover of darkness, but at the same time man became a prey of Death ⁷¹).

To sum up: All the above mentioned origin of death myths testify to the fact that the problem of an Overcrowded Earth plays a prominent part in mythology, folklore and legend.

66) *Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer*, chapter III. L. GINZBERG, *op. cit.* I, 65.

67) *Sbornik za narodni umotvorenia nauka i knižna*, vol. IV. This legend has been translated into German by A. STRAUZ in his magnum opus: *Die Bulgaren, Ethnographische Studien*, Leipzig 1898, pp. 77 ff.

68) A. STRAUZ, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

69) J. P. MILLS, *The Rengma Nagas*, London 1937, p. 271.

70) V. ELWIN, *Myths of Middle India*, p. 422, No. 15.

71) D. C. BRINTON, *Myths of the New World*, p. 207, note.

SHORTER NOTES

ON SOME RECENT TRANSLATIONS OF THE QUR'ĀN

R. Blachère's clear and useful translation of the Qur'ān, published in three volumes in the years 1947-1951, seems to have opened the door to a flow of re-translations of the Muslim Holy Book into various languages.

Almost contemporary with Blachère's version is the first volume of an English translation of the Qur'ān prepared by the *qādyānī* Aḥmadiyyas of Pakistan, with a long introduction by the Chief of the Aḥmadiyya Community and very abundant footnotes. In 1953 the indefatigable and prolific English orientalist A. J. Arberry produced an *Anthology* of the Qur'ān¹), followed in 1955 by a complete translation in two volumes. In 1954 the Aḥmadiyya Mission in Europe published (in Holland) a German translation. The following year saw the publication of my Italian translation with introduction and notes: another Italian translation, not yet published, had been entrusted by another publisher to a remarkable personality in Italian orientalism: M. M. Moreno, presently Italian Plenipotentiary Minister in Khartum. At last, in 1956 a Dutch translation of the Qur'ān was published, as the posthumous work of the great Dutch orientalist J. H. Kramers.

All this work of re-interpretation has been accompanied by studies and "Introductions" into the religious world of the Prophet of Arabia, of which I only mention R. Bell's *Introduction to the Qur'an* (1953), W. Montgomery Watt's *Muhammad at Mecca* (1953), G. Widengren's study on *Mohammad the Apostle of God and his Ascension* (1955). I leave apart the more technical articles appeared on various scientific journals concerning this and that Qur'ānic problem.

We are now very far from the times when the Qur'ān was a book sealed with seven seals for the Christian world!

The books mentioned above contain nothing extremely new for what concerns philology *stricto sensu*: actually Qur'ānic philology does not present those complicated problems implied in the interpretation, e.g.,

1) A. J. ARBERRY, *The Holy Koran*, London, 1953.

of the Avesta or other religious Books of the antiquity. We can freely say that — with some minor exceptions — we substantially know pretty well what the Qur'ān means, at least what it meant for centuries to the Muslim world. The only originality that the new translations may offer is an originality of approach. For a really new interpretation, whose interest would however remain purely philological and probably affect more the Muslim world than the Western, we have to wait the final results of the preliminary works for an *editio critica* of the text, begun already in 1930-34 by Bergsträsser and Pretzl and continued by others: particularly interesting in this aspect are the painstaking and extremely accurate studies of P. E. Beck²⁾.

The translations made by Muslims, on the other hand, are further examples of tentative solutions of the central problem of Muslim modernism: i.e. to justify modern trends, though remaining attached to the traditional and antiquated idea of the verbal inspiration of the Holy Book. As it is well known — quite differently from what happened in the history of Christian theology — Islam, and even its most modernistic representatives, always considered the Qur'ān as the *literal dictation* of the actual words of God to the Prophet. In a way all the attempts of modernism in Islam could be defined as attempts to give modern meanings to words spoken by God directly to solve problems of an Arab community of thirteen centuries ago, whereas even orthodox Christian moderns — with the now widely accepted idea of a non-verbal inspiration of the “holy” authors, — simply try to imagine what those holy persons would have said when faced with our present problems: a task, perhaps, more colourful and phantastic, but no doubt easier!

But let us return to our books, beginning with the Aḥmadiyya translations.

a) *The Holy Qur'ān, with English translation and commentary*. Rabwa, 1947 ff.

b) *Der Heilige Qur'ān. Arabisch-Deutsch. Versehen mit einer ausführlicher Einführung, unter der Leitung von Hazrat Mirza Bashi-*

2) Especially his articles in *Orientalia*, e.g. *Studien zur Geschichte der kufischen Koranlesung in den beiden ersten Jahrhunderten* (1948, pp. 326 ff.); *Die Kodizesvarianten der Amṣār* (ibid. 1947, pp. 353 ff.); *Die Sūra ar-Rūm* (ibid. 1944 pp. 334 ff., 1945, pp. 118 ff.) etc.

ruddin Mahmud Ahmad, Zweiter Kalif des Verheissenen Messias, Oberhaupt der Ahmadiyya-Bewegung des Islams. Ahmadiyya Mission des Islams, Den Haag, 1954.

The second translation is without footnotes, and contains only a detailed Introduction, which is a summary of the English Introduction of the previous work. The ideas of the Aḥmadiyya movement are sufficiently well-known in Europe, especially due to the vast propaganda made by this branch of Islam in the Western world. The *Qādyānī* subdivision of the Aḥmadiyyas, having now, after the partition of India, its center in Rabwa ca. 100 km. from Lahore in Pakistan, is the more conservative section. They are generally (and in my opinion wrongly) known as a “modernistic” and “progressive” movement of Islam. Only an example: at p. 496 of the first vol. of the English translation (footnote) the reader will notice that these alleged “modernists” — contrarily to many modern Muslims who try to explain away polygamy from the Qur’ān — maintain that “the West will never recover from the terrible moral and social diseases from which it is suffering...unless, setting aside all false notions and false sentiments, it submits to the Islamic injunctions about polygamy”. During my visit to their center in Pakistan — the small town of Rabwa, practically created out of a desert by the remarkable efforts of the Aḥmadiyya refugees from Qādyān (India) — I did not succeed in seeing a single woman: the “parda” custom, now gradually abandoned even by conservative Muslims, is by them most strictly observed. One of their most “modern” tendencies is their categorical and meritorious refuse of the Holy War, but for what concerns dogmatics Aḥmadiyyas (and specially Qādyānīs) can *not* at all be considered — as it is often the case in Handbooks of Islamistics — under the heading “modernistic trends”. At p. 1135 and 1227 of this same work (notes to XII, 3 and XIV, 5) the commentator maintains, following the ideas of the Founder of the Movement, that Arabic is the mother of all languages (*ummu ’l-alsina*), a tenet which has nothing to do with modernism and that, together with other ideas as that of the death of Jesus Christ in Kashmir, has become almost a new dogma for the Aḥmadiyya believers.

The English Introduction comprises 276 pp. and is a most interesting and authoritative compendium of the Aḥmadiyya doctrines. The translation is generally accurate, but can be useful only for those

who know the "weak points" of the Aḥmadiyyas. They show a general tendency to rationalize the eschatological parts of the Qur'ān and to smooth away every trace of anthropomorphism. One example: LV, 30 is so translated into German: "Ihn bitten alle die in den Himmeln und auf Erden sind. Jeden Augenblick (offenbart Er Sich) im (neuem) Glanz" (for "every day He is upon some labour", Arberry). The idea that God is every day occupied in new works evidently seemed too anthropomorphic: the Aḥmadiyya doctrine also denies the commonly accepted Muslim tenet that God can abrogate a passage of the Holy Book substituting it with another.

c) *Il Corano. Introduzione, Traduzione e commento di Alessandro Bausani*. Firenze, 1955 ("Classici della Religione", Collezione diretta da Raffaele Pettazzoni). It is not easy for an author to speak of his own work without falling into an excess of (false) modesty, or, in the worst case, of exaggerated self-contentment. Reading the precedent two translations of the Qur'ān into Italian, that of Fracassi and that of Bonelli³), one is compelled to remark two facts: the extremely literal rendering of the original, which completely spoils the text of any literary beauty, and the almost total lack of foot-notes and commentary, which makes practically impossible to the Italian non-specialist reader of the Qur'ān to understand the text. Moreover Bonelli's translation included only a very short introduction (no more than 11 pp. in 16°). My aim in retranslating the Sacred Book of Islam has been that of giving to the Italian non-specialist public what was not to be found in the preceding translations: a readable Italian prose, which in some parts of the Qur'ān, especially Meccan sura's, passes into a sort of rhythmic prose; a sufficiently extended Commentary (238 pp.); an Introduction (78 pp.) on the life of the Arabian Prophet, and the history of his Book. In the Commentary I abounded as much as possible in the indication of cross-references: the first commentary of the Qur'ān is that given by itself, and the utility of a wise employment of this internal system to the study of this Book (and other Sacred Scriptures too) will never be emphasized enough. In my commentary, among other things, I tried to show

3) L. BONELLI, *Il Corano*. Milano, 1929 (2 ed. with only slight changes, 1940). Bonelli's translation substituted the preceding one by Fracassi (published in the same collection "Manuali Hoepli" in 1914) which was unscientific and very imperfect.

how the Qur'ān is not so "contradictory" and so similar to a *rudis indigestaque moles* as many still think. Moreover, I tried to correct here and there what I think to be the prejudices of a certain Western scholarship about the Qur'ān: such as the idea that Muhammad was an "ignorant beduin" who had only extremely vague ideas of the Christian and Jewish scriptures; that of the "materialistic" eschatology of the Qur'ān, and that of the impossibility of the Qur'ān containing also some allegorical or symbolical materials ⁴).

d) A. J. ARBERRY, *The Koran Interpreted*. London, 1955 (in 2 voll., the first comprising suras I-XX, the second XX-CXIV).

The aim of the new translation of Mr. Arberry into English is practically the same as that of mine into Italian. In his Preface (22 pp., mainly devoted to a study of other English translations of the Qur'ān) he writes (p. 24): "The discriminating reader will not have failed to remark, even in the short extracts quoted, a certain uniformity and dull monotony characteristic of all, from the seventeenth down to the twentieth century. A conscientious but slavish faithfulness to the letter — so far as the letter has been progressively understood — has in general excluded any corresponding reflection of the spirit, where that has at all been appreciated". I agree completely with this view of the learned Professor of Cambridge: the more or less precisely definable anti-islamic spirit, which was and partly still is widely spread in even highly educated European milieus, is also a result of the style of the majority of European translations of the Holy Book of Islam. It would be difficult to express in words better than those of Prof. Arberry an experience that every translator of the Qur'ān — not lacking at least a minimum of "poetical" sense — should share: "There is a repertory of familiar themes running through the whole Koran; each Sura elaborates or adumbrates one or more — often many of these. Using the language of music, each Sura is a rhapsody composed of whole or fragmentary *leitmotifs*; the analogy is reinforced by the subtly varied rhythmical flow of the discourse. If this diagnosis of the literary structure of the Koran may be accepted as true — and it accords with what we know of the poetical instinct, indeed the whole aesthetic impulse, of the Arabs —

4) See now, on these three subjects, my article *Postille a Cor. II, 248-XXXIX, 23-XX, 15* in "Studi Orientalistici in onore di Giorgio Levi della Vida". Rome, 1956, I vol., pp. 32-51.

it follows that those notorious incongruities and irrelevancies, even those "wearisome repetitions", which have proved such stumbling-blocks in the way of our Western appreciation, will vanish in the light of a clearer understanding of the nature of the Muslim scriptures. A new vista opens up; following this hitherto unsuspected and unexplored path, the eager interpreter hurries forward upon an exciting journey of discovery, and is impatient to report his findings to a largely indifferent and incredulous public".

This writer agrees so completely with Prof. Arberry's statement that he regrets not to have had the courage (due perhaps to an excess of scientific prudence) to express himself more clearly on this subject in his commentary. See however pp. LXIV ff. of my introduction and passim in various footnotes (as e.g. XI, 35) where I express the opinion that the "interpolations" so easily detected by European scholars unaware of the artistic unity of some outwardly "broken" passages, may in some cases be due to an excess of criticism. It is only a pity that Prof. Arberry did not deem it useful to append to his so valuable "interpretation" a commentary or a longer and more detailed introduction, in order to elucidate his new views more fully.

c) *De Koran. Uit het Arabisch vertaald door J. H. Kramers*. Amsterdam, 1956. pp. XX, 728.

This is a posthumous work by the well-known Arabist and Islamist of Leiden. He had worked at this translation long years, but unfortunately he was not able to complete it with a sufficient quantity of foot-notes and an introduction. The introduction of the present edition (14 pp.) has been written by the editor of the book, Mr. R. W. van Diffelen, from notes by the Author. The footnotes are unfortunately rather scarce and prepared by the editor basing himself on marginal manuscript notes by Kramers, but very useful indications of cross-references (work of Kramers himself) are inserted in the text. The editor is also responsible for the short introductions to the single suras. Completely a work of Kramers is the very detailed alphabetical Index at the end of the book (more than 80 pp.), which will prove very useful to every student of the Qur'ān; it is perhaps not exaggerated to say that it is one of the best of such Indexes. This eulogy of the Index does not however mean a depreciation of the translation itself, which is exact and a fruit of wide and deep erudition. My knowledge of Dutch is not so deep as to allow me the possibility

of a literary judgement. It seems to me however that Kramers' translation is made on the pattern of the classical scientific translations, and quite far from Arberry's "new style".

Summing up, it seems that, after the long and fruitful work of European scholars for a better understanding of the literal meaning of the Qur'ān, not much has been left to the *recentiores* to say in this field. The way is now open to a better and deeper appreciation of the aesthetic and religious (two terms meaning things not so different as it seems at first sight) value of the Qur'ān: a way until now barred by the sacred horror of the Muslims to connect such a frivolous term as "poetry" with the Word of God, and by the overcriticism of certain "pure" philologists (read "pure" in the sense of "arid") of Europe.

A. BAUSANI. Rome

BULLETIN

BERICHTIGUNG

Anlässlich des Berichtes über die Religionswissenschaft in Deutschland, das Frau Dr. Käthe Neumann im Bulletin des Vol. III Fasc. 3 von *Numen* erstattet hat, haben die Herren Prof. D. Dr. E. Benz und Prof. Dr. H. J. Schoeps sich an mich gewendet mit der Bitte die untenstehende Berichtigung aufnehmen zu wollen. Meiner Ansicht nach kann man diesen Wunsch nicht gewähren ohne Frau Neumann die Gelegenheit geboten zu haben das ihrige dazu zu sagen. Also folgt ihre Erklärung als zweiter Teil dieser Berichtigung.

C. J. BLEEKER

I

Erlangen, den 10. Januar 1957.

In dem von Frau Dr. K. Neumann verfassten Bulletin 'Religionswissenschaft in Deutschland' (*Numen*, Vol. III Fasc. 3, Sept. 1956) wird irrtümlich behauptet, dass die Religionswissenschaft in Deutschland kein eigenes Organ besäße. Das Gegenteil ist vielmehr der Fall. Deutschland ist unseres Wissens das einzige Land, das innerhalb der I.A.H.R. seit 1947 eine eigene Zeitschrift besitzt. Zu dem nur von Religionshistorikern gebildeten Herausgeberkreis der „Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte“ (E. J. Brill Verlag) gehört auch der verdiente 2. Vorsitzende des deutschen Zweiges der I.A.H.R., Herr Prof. D. Dr. G. Mensching, Bonn, Universität. Mitherausgeber sind ferner die Herren Professoren: W. F. Albright (Baltimore), M. Simon (Strasbourg) und G. Widengren (Uppsala).

Die Herausgeber

Prof. D. Dr. E. BENZ
Marburg

Prof. Dr. H. J. SCHOEPS
Erlangen

II

Marburg/Lahn, den 31. Januar 1957

Die „Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte“ ist nicht das offizielle Organ des Deutschen Zweiges der erst 1950 in Amsterdam gegründeten IAHR, obgleich dem Redaktionsstab der 2. Vorsitzende, Professor D. Dr. Mensching, angehört und die Mitglieder auf der

Jahrestagung 1955 und im Rundschreiben des Deutschen Zweiges vom 26.8.1955 auf sie ausdrücklich hingewiesen wurden. Schon der Titel der Zeitschrift zeigt, dass sie nicht ausschliesslich als religionswissenschaftliches Organ dienen soll. Doch wäre es richtig gewesen, die „Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte“ in dem genannten Artikel zu erwähnen zusammen mit den anderen deutschen Zeitschriften, die religionswissenschaftliche Aufsätze veröffentlichen und deren Herausgeber dem Deutschen Zweig als Mitglied oder Vorstand angehören:

Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft und Religionswissenschaft, hrsg. v. Prof. Dr. Thomas OHM, Münster i.W.

Theologische Literaturzeitung, hrsg. v. Prof. D. Kurt ALAND, Berlin und Leipzig.

Eine heilige Kirche: Zeitschrift für ökumenische Einheit. Hrsg. von Prof. D. Dr. Friedrich HEILER. München.

Wirklichkeit und Wahrheit, hrsg. von der Arbeitsgemeinschaft für freie Religionsforschung und Philosophie, hrsg. von Prof. Dr. J. W. HAUER.

Dr. KÄTHE NEUMANN
Marburg

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GOTTES KÖNIGTUM IM URCHRISTENTUM

VON

ERICH FASCHER

Berlin

*D. Fr. K. Schumann (Münster)
zum 70. Geburtstag*

I

Wenn die religionsgeschichtliche Behandlung von Gottes Königtum im Urchristentum in Zusammenhang mit der gesamten Thematik des Gottkönigtums im Orient der Antike betrachtet wird, so ist von vornherein zu betonen, dass die Frage nach der Verwandtschaft dieser beiden Themen besonders verwickelt ist. Gäbe es in der urchristlichen Gemeinde eine Gott-König-Vorstellung, so stünde ihre wissenschaftliche Behandlung immer unter der Methodenfrage, ob alttestamentlich-spätjüdische, oder altorientalisch-hellenistische Einflüsse dabei die Hauptrolle gespielt haben, oder ob sich hier aus der messianisch-christozentrischen Glaubenshaltung eine Gemeindeftheologie von besonderer Eigenart entwickelt hat, der gegenüber die Frage fremder Einflüsse als zweitrangig erscheinen muss; denn die Wirkung des Ganzen erwächst nicht aus der Summe seiner Teile. Das mitreissende Bekenntnis eines Dichters macht die Wirkung des Agamemnon von Aischylos aus, nicht das Wissen darum, welche Scheidung zwischen mythischem Urstoff und dichterischer Zutat die Literarkritik hier vollzieht. Gleiches gilt von Goethes Faust. Nicht als literarisches Mosaik, sondern als Schöpfung eines Dichters tut er seine Wirkung. Man wird Analoges von Jesu Gleichnissen und den Offenbarungsreden des 4. Evangeliums sagen dürfen. Alle aufdeckbaren Quellen und literarischen Motive sind nur Bausteine. Die Frage ist primär nicht die: was hat der Autor verwendet? sondern die: was hat er aus dem Verwendeten gemacht? So interessant es sein mag zu wissen, wo ein alttestamentliches Wort, eine spätjüdische Legende oder ein religionsgeschichtlich feststellbares Wandermotiv Einfluss ausgeübt hat, entscheidend ist und bleibt, was das Verwendete jetzt (in *dieser* Form und Fassung, aus *diesem* Munde und mit *diesem* Anspruch auf Autorität) dem Hörer sagen

soll. Meinte man, solche Fragestellung sei zu theologisch und verträte im Kreise vergleichender Religionswissenschaft einen unerwünschten Dogmatismus, der die erforderliche „Neutralität“ vermissen lasse, so wird man dazu grundsätzlich folgendes sagen dürfen: Jede theologische Betrachtung, welche Religion nicht auf Begriffsgeschichte oder auf ästhetisch eingekleidete Vorstellungen menschlicher Sehnsucht reduziert, wird immer von Offenbarung reden müssen, die ihren Herrschaftsanspruch auf den gesamten Bereich menschlichen Daseins erhebt; denn die Religion ist nicht ein Zimmer innerhalb der Wohnung der Kultur, welches man nach Belieben benutzen oder verschliessen kann. So weltweit der Gott Israels und die Götter Griechenlands voneinander verschieden sind — waren diese für den Frommen nicht genau so Gegenstand echter Ehrfurcht wie jener? Mit Recht bemerkt Walter F. Otto (*Die Götter Griechenlands* 1934 S. 173 f) „Wir wollen doch nicht länger glauben, dass es weniger wichtig sei, ein Volk von der geistigen Grösse des Griechischen nach dem Gegenstand einer höchsten Ehrfurcht zu befragen, als die Kinder Israel Kein vernünftiger Mensch wird doch behaupten wollen, dass die grossen griechischen Epen nur zum ästhetischen Sinn des Zuhörers gesprochen haben..... In unserm christlichen Europa freilich geht die Religion neben dem geistigen und materiellen Leben her, und sie bleiben sich fremd, auch wo sie sich berühren. Junge und ungebrochene Kulturen dagegen wissen von keiner Religion, die nicht in das gesamte menschliche Dasein unlösbar verschlungen ist“. Daher erwachse für den Religionshistoriker die Aufgabe, auch bei den Griechen die Frage zu stellen, welche uns die asiatischen Religionen längst nahe gelegt haben: „durch welche neue Offenbarung des Göttlichen sind Zeus, Athene und Apollon zum Gegenstand des höchsten Schauens und der erhabensten Andacht geworden?“ (Otto S. 174).

Steht hier echter Zeusglaube neben echtem Jahveglauben, so sollte es auch den Christen zu denken geben, dass der Apostel Paulus in 1. Kor. 8, 4-5 die Existenz von Göttern und Herren nicht etwa leugnet, sondern nur betont, für die Christen gäbe es einen Vater-Gott und einen Herrn. Hat er sich damit, dass er ὁ θεός und ὁ κύριος nebeneinander stellt, nicht gleicherweise von Heiden und Juden abgegrenzt? Denn der Gott der Christen ist doch nun „der Vater unseres Herrn Jesu Christi“, damit aber für die Frommen des Alten Testaments, die sich bis heute entschieden weigern, Jesus einen Sohn Got-

tes zu heissen, nicht zugänglich. Der Begriff des Sohnes Gottes ist für Israel nur im adoptianischen Sinn möglich, kann aber nicht wie in Joh. 1 oder Kol. 1. 13 ff verwendet werden.

Solcher Hinweis könnte leicht als Abschweifung vom Thema erscheinen, aber ich denke, dass wir damit gerade beim Thema angekommen sind; denn es ist doch ein Unterschied, ob wir vom antiken Gottkönigtum reden, das im Bereich der christlichen Kirche Verwendung und Wandlung zugleich erfährt, oder ob wir vom Königtum Gottes sprechen. Die Reihenfolge der beiden Substantiva in diesem Kompositum kennzeichnet den entscheidenden Unterschied. Dass Gott König sei, kann der Fromme des Alten Testaments dankbar erkennen, dass aber der König, sein irdischer Herrscher, ein Gott sei, wie man das etwa von Alexander dem Grossen (in der Nachfolge ägyptischer Anschauung) oder später von den römischen Kaisern sagt, das ist dem Juden wie dem Christen ein völlig unvollziehbarer Gedanke. Ein deutlicher Beweis dafür ist jene Scene in Apg. 12, 20-23, welche von Josephus ant. 19, 8, 2 bestätigt wird, dass König Herodes nämlich plötzlich sterben muss, weil er sich die Schmeichelrede des Volkes, er sei Gott und nicht Mensch, ohne Widerspruch gefallen liess. Was sich ein Caligula, der sich für einen Gott hielt, erlaubte, war Wahnsinn, und seinen Wahnsinnstaten konnte man nur durch seine Ermordung Einhalt gebieten. Im Falle des Königs Herodes Agrippa aber war der hellenistisch denkenden Volksmasse die Vorstellung eines solchen Gottkönigtums nicht fremd, doch Gott selbst griff ein: ein klarer Beweis, wie lästerlich solche in der hellenistischen Welt nicht seltene Denkweise für Juden wie für Christen ist. Anders gelagert ist die Scene mit dem Sohn des Herodes, Agrippa II., dessen Eintreten für Paulus in Apg. 25,13 bis 26,32 ausführlich geschildert wird und der als Kurator des Heiligtums in Jerusalem auch für den Statthalter Festus von Bedeutung ist. Dass Paulus sich vor Agrippa II. gern verteidigt, weil er dem König Verständnis für seine Sache und für seine Lage zutraut, ist dem Erzähler selbstverständlich. Der Schirmherr des Tempels und König von Roms Gnaden stand gewiss nicht im besten Rufe, aber er hielt sich doch nicht für einen Gott und verfolgte die Christen nicht. Daher kann der bedrängte Paulus den König als Sachverständigen mit all der Ehrerbietung ansprechen, wie sie einem König zukommt. Die älteste Christenheit hat demnach, wie das Beispiel von Herodes Vater und Sohn lehrt, jeden König

geehrt, der darauf Anspruch erheben durfte, in der Ueberzeugung, dass er demselben Gott Ehre zu erweisen habe wie seine Untertanen. Dabei ist die christliche Gemeinde so weitherzig, für *alle* Obrigkeit zu beten, da sie nach ihrer Meinung von Gott ist. Gott fürchten und den König ehren gehören zusammen (1. Petrus 2, 17). Der Hinweis, dass solche Ehrung der Wille Gottes sei (1. Petrus 2, 15) schliesst jede Möglichkeit aus, dass der König selbst Gott sei. Der Kampf auf Leben und Tod zwischen Christentum und römischem Staat beginnt ja auch erst an der Stelle, wo mit der Forderung des Kaiserkultes die für Christen gesetzte Grenze überschritten wird. Sonst sind die Christen durchaus bereit, auch einen heidnischen Herrscher als von Gott gesetzt anzuerkennen, wie Röm. 13, 1-7 und 1. Tim. 2, 2 uns zeigen. Wenn im Uebrigen nach Apg. 25, 21 der römische Statthalter mit Ehrfurcht von seinem kaiserlichen Herrn spricht, so ist es ein Zeichen für die Unbefangenheit des christlichen Erzählers, wenn er diese respektvollen Ausdrücke verwendet.

II

Ist diese äussere geschichtliche Linie zunächst geführt, so müssen wir noch einmal die Frage nach dem Ursprung des Gottkönigtums kurz aufwerfen und am besten durch einige konkrete Beispiele erläutern.

Das absolutistische Königtum der Sumerer stand unter der Allgewalt der Götter. Wenn sumerische Stadtkönige sich *patesi* nannten — das Wort bedeutet „Diener“ und bezeichnet dann einen untergeordneten Fürsten — so werden sie sich damit als Diener des Staatsgottes bezeichnet haben, dessen Statthalter sie sind und der sie mit Geist und Kraft begabt. Eannatum (um 2700 Regent in Lagasch) nennt die Götter als Geber aller möglichen Gaben: Enlil gab ihm Stärke, Enki den Verstand, Innina nennt ihn mit gutem Namen usw. Wenn sich ein sumerischer König einmal Sohn einer Gottheit nennt, so ist das wie in Israel eine übertragene Formel, um ein Schutzverhältnis zum Ausdruck zu bringen (vgl. Fritz Taeger *Das Altertum* I, 54). Sargon v. Akkad (2652 bis 2597), obwohl niedriger Herkunft, ist durch die Gunst Ištars zum Weltherrscher erhoben. Er setzte vor seinen Namen das Gottesdeterminativ und betrachtete sich als Gottkönig und Mittelpunkt des neuen Reiches. Obwohl diese Auffassung dem Empfinden der Sumerer u. Semiten widersprach, setzten Sar-

gons Nachfolger diesen Brauch fort. So heisst Naramsin: Gott N..., Gott v. Akkad, König der vier Weltgegenden. Um 2450 brach die Dynastie von Akkad zusammen. Um 2000 scheint ein Bewusstseinswandel eingetreten zu sein, gekennzeichnet durch den Wegfall des Gottesdeterminativs, während die alten Bezeichnungen fortgesetzt werden mit der Zähigkeit, wie sie dann erstarrten Kultformeln eigen zu sein pflegen. Wenn Hamurapi (1947-1905) sich gelegentlich Sohn des Sin oder des amoritischen Stammes-Gottes Dagan, ja sogar Sonne von Babel nennt, welche wie Šamaš aufgeht, so dürften das formelhafte Wendungen sein, die den König als unter dem Schutz der Götter stehend bezeichnen.

Am deutlichsten tritt das Gottkönigtum in Aegypten in Erscheinung. Der Gemahlin Thutmosis I. (1538-1530) naht sich der Gott Amon, Herr von Karnak und verheisst ihr: Amonsgebildete Hatschepsut sei der Name deiner Tochter, den ich in deinen Leib gepflanzt habe. Sie wird dieses herrliche Königtum in diesem ganzen Land ausüben. Meine Seele..., meine Macht... mein Ansehen... meine Krone wird ihr gehören... Ich umgebe sie mit meinem Schutz alle Tage zusammen mit dem Gotte des betreffenden Tages (vgl. A. Bertholet *Religionsgeschichtliches Lesebuch* X von H. KEES, S. 40). Diese spätere Königin, Gemahlin Thutmosis III. (1504-1450), welcher sie hernach stürzte und verdrängte, war unzweifelhaft eine bedeutende Herrscherin. Gewaltige Tempelbauten und ihr Felsengrab legen davon Zeugnis ab. Für den Wandel der Vorstellungen dürfte aber bezeichnend sein, dass Amenophis III. (1405-1370) es nur in Nubien wagte, als Herr von Nubien und Herr des Himmels einen Tempel für den Kult seines Bildes errichten zu lassen. Nur in Nubien führte er den im alten Reich schon abgeschafften Titel „Grosser Gott“, während es in einem Kultlied auf Amon (im Aegypten der gleichen Zeit) heisst: Du bist im Himmel, scheinst für die Erde; Er ist auf Erden, verwaltend Dein Königtum. (vgl. Taeger I, S. 93).

Wenn nun Israel als ein relativ junges Volk in diesen Kreis alter Kulturvölker eintrat (in denen der Gedanke des Gottkönigtums nicht konsequent durchgehalten worden ist, weil offenbar Zeiten der „Orthodoxie“ mit Zeiten des „Freisinns“ abwechselten, wie das ja auch in der neueren Geschichte der Fall ist), so ist damit zu rechnen, dass es den Königsgedanken in der Fassung des Gottkönigtums eines menschlichen Herrschers nicht übernehmen konnte. Mit Recht hat Martin

Noth (Geschichte Israels 1950, S. 193 f) die Situation folgendermassen gekennzeichnet: Während in den alten orientalischen Reichen, besonders den Grossreichen, das Königtum als wesentliches Element einer von jeher bestehenden göttlichen Ordnung galt, musste es in Israel als geschichtlich gewordene Einrichtung verstanden werden. Gerhard v. Rad (im Artikel Basileus in Kittels Wörterbuch) formuliert ähnlich: Israels Königtum ist nicht mit der Religion zusammen aufgewachsen (also kein religiöses Urelement), sondern hinzugetreten, als die Religion schon gefestigt war. Es gibt in Israel kein Gottkönigtum, wenn man sich auch dem Hofstil altorientalischer Huldigungslieder nicht ganz entziehen konnte, wie die sogenannten Königspsalmen (Psalm 2. 20. 45. 110 u.a.) zeigen. Mit Ausnahme von Psalm 45, 7 ist hier der Begriff der Gotteskindschaft als Adoptivformel zu fassen. Israels Gott, der sich dieses Volk unter den Völkern der Erde gleichsam gegriffen hatte, es durch Moses aus ägyptischer Knechtschaft befreite und ihm jahrhundertlang in Notzeiten Führer erweckte, duldete kein Königtum als feste Institution neben sich. Ob dieses erwählte Volk Gottes souveränes Walten nicht durch die Einrichtung eines erblichen Königtums einschränke — war ein grosses Problem. Wir können es noch in seinen verschiedenen Stufen der Entwicklung anhand einiger Traditionsstücke des Alten Testaments verfolgen, die wir aus der Gesamtkomposition der unter priesterlicher Beurteilung verfassten Geschichtsbücher herauslösen und als alte Quellen für sich betrachten müssen. Dann ist es höchst wahrscheinlich, „dass das einzige gesamtisraelitische Amt, von dem die alttestamentliche Ueberlieferung für die älteste Zeit ausdrücklich berichtet, nicht etwa ein priesterliches gewesen ist, sondern ein richterliches. („vgl. Noth S. 88 f, dazu Richter 10, 1-5 und 12, 7-15). Israel unterschied sich darin von den andern Völkern, dass es unter dem Gottesrecht stand, welches der Richter bei den Zusammenkünften des Stämmeverbandes jeweils neu verkündete und auslegte. Der Kern dieses ältesten Gottesgesetzes sei in Ex 21-23 zu suchen. Wir lesen in Richter 19 von einer straffälligen Tat „zu der Zeit, als es noch keinen König in Israel gab“, und erfahren in Kap. 20, welche Massnahmen die Versammlung der Israeliten dagegen beschloss. Wenn diese Kapitel zum Erweis eines Vorranges eines richterlichen Amtes dienen sollen, welches das Gottesrecht zu schützen hat, so muss m.E. auf die Rolle des Priesters am Stammesheiligtum hingewiesen werden — die Bundeslade Jahves

stand damals in Bethel, und hier amtierte Pinehas, ein Enkel Aarons als Priester — ehe man den Kampf gegen die Einwohner Gibeas aufnahm, wurde Jahve dreimal befragt. Neben dem Richter ist also der Priester am Stammesheiligtum, welcher den Entscheid Gottes zu ermitteln hat, von grosser Bedeutung. Ausserdem darf nicht übersehen werden, dass hier weder Richter noch Priester ein absolutes Regiment führen, sondern die Vollversammlung der Männer ein entscheidendes Wort mitzureden hat. Dazu passt die Ueberlieferung in Richter 8,22 ff, dass die Israeliten nach seinem Sieg über die Midianiterkönige den Gideon baten, ihr König zu sein und eine erbliche Monarchie einzurichten. Seine Antwort lautet: „ich will nicht Euer König sein, und mein Sohn soll auch nicht über Euch herrschen; der Herr soll Euer König sein“. Wenn dann später sein Sohn Abimelech (Richter 9) nach Ausrottung aller seiner Brüder bis auf Jotham, ein Stadtkönigtum in Sichem aufzurichten und seine Herrschaft auf umliegende Orte des Stammes Manasse auszudehnen versuchte, so ist er doch bald bei der Belagerung von Thebez auf schimpfliche Weise umgekommen. Der Kern dieser Erzählung macht deutlich, dass diese Errichtung eines Königtums ganz und gar dem Tatendrang Abimelechs entsprang, dessen Herrschaftsgelüste sich übrigens auf ein Gebiet erstreckten, welches in der Amarnazeit der Stadtkönig Labaja von Sichem beherrscht hatte. An der Spannung, die zwischen kanaanäischen Sichemiten und den Einwohnern des Stammes Manasse herrschte, ist Abimelech letztlich gescheitert, und sein Unternehmen blieb Episode, wenn er auch in Israel der Erste war, der sich König nennen liess. Bekanntlich wird erst unter Samuel die Königsfrage akut, unter seinem Regiment hat das Volk Frieden, seine beiden Söhne sprachen in Beerseba Recht, erwiesen sich aber als bestechlich und forderten damit die Bitte des Volkes an den alt gewordenen Samuel heraus: Setze einen als König über uns, der uns regiert, wie es bei allen Völkern der Fall ist. (1. Sam. 8, 5) Man darf nicht übersehen: alle versammelten Aeltesten der Israeliten waren es, die dem alten Samuel als autorisierte Volksvertreter diese Bitte vortrugen. Mit Recht hat darum Martin Buber eine geistvolle Studie über diesen Stoff der Tradition unter dem Titel „Das Volksbegehren“ (im Gedenkband für Ernst Lohmeyer 1951, 53 ff) veröffentlicht. Buber möchte diese Erzählung so interpretieren, dass die Kritik an Samuels Söhnen garnicht zu der Forderung nach Einsetzung eines Königs

passt. Ausserdem werde Samuel hier garnicht kritisiert oder seine Absetzung gefordert, im Gegenteil, er werde doch als Mittler zwischen dem Volk und seinem Gotte bemüht. In der Tat — Gott ist der eigentlich Befragte, er hat das letzte Wort und stellt fest: Du Samuel bist nicht gemeint, sondern ich; denn du bist bisher nicht König über Israel gewesen, sondern ich. Und Gott befiehlt ganz überraschend: willfahre dem Wunsche des Volkes. Indem Buber 1. Samuel 8, 7 mit 8, 9 verbindet und 8, 11 bis 18 als Einschub eines Bearbeiters herauslöst, kommt er zu folgender Erkenntnis: dass Gott dem Wunsch des Volkes entspricht, ist weder als Strafe zu interpretieren noch als Zulassung des Bösen in der Welt, sondern so zu verstehen, dass Gott durch Erfüllung eines menschlichen Wunsches die Verwandlung des Erfüllten vollzieht, weil er den neuen König keineswegs als seinen Nachfolger (als Gott-König) einsetzt, sondern als seinen Statthalter verstanden wissen will, der bei Ungehorsam seines Amtes verlustig gehen wird. Religionsgeschichtlich gesehen liegt diese Lösung nicht in der Richtung altorientalischen absoluten Gottkönigtums, sondern entspricht der Auffassung, dass der irdische König von Schutz und Gnade der Gottheit abhängig ist. Man müsste daraus den Schluss ziehen, dass nur Gott selbst, aber nicht der Wille des Volkes seinem Amt ein Ende machen könnte. Hier bahnt sich nun eine Verwicklung an, die sich zu verfolgen lohnt. Fügt man 1. Samuel 10,17 ff. an Kapitel 8 an, so ergibt sich, dass das Volk gegen den Richter-Propheten mit Zustimmung Gottes seinen Willen bekommt, nachdem das Volk auf Gottes Geheiss von Samuel ausdrücklich darauf aufmerksam gemacht war, welche Lasten und welche Einschränkung der Freiheit ihm die Einrichtung eines Königtums bringen werde. Wenn das Volk sich trotzdem für dieses Königtum entschied, dann geschah es unter dem Gesichtspunkt: wir wollen es auch so haben, wie alle Heidenvölker: Unser König soll uns Recht sprechen und unser Anführer sein und unsere Kriege führen (1. Samuel 8, 20). So wird Saul in Mizpa von dem feierlich versammelten Stämmen gewählt und die Rechte des Königtums werden dem Volk zur Kenntnis gebracht und in ein Buch eingetragen, das vor Gott niedergelegt wird (1. Samuel 10,17 ff.). Sieht es zunächst so aus, dass der Gegensatz zwischen Samuel und dem Volke durch das vermittelnde Eingreifen Gottes beseitigt worden ist, so brechen doch bald neue Konflikte aus, wie 1. Samuel 13 und 15 zeigen. Als Politiker führt der König eine Weisung

Gottes nicht aus, die er ihm durch Samuel auftrug, d.h. Saul vollstreckt den Bann an den Amalekitern nur ungenügend. Der Seher Samuel entrüstet sich darüber nicht von sich aus, aber er muss von Gott erfahren, dass es ihn reue, Saul zum König gemacht zu haben. Saul sieht seine Sünde ein und bittet um Vergebung, aber Samuel muss dem König die harte Antwort geben, dass Gott seine Verwerfung nicht bereue, wie ein Mensch etwas bereut. Es sieht so aus, als ob der Richter — Prophet stärker ist als der vom Volk gewählte König. Und Gott gibt das bewilligte Königtum als Einrichtung nicht auf, um etwa dem Bedenken Samuels völlig recht zu geben, sondern er gibt es einem andern: David, dem Mann seines Wohlgefallens. Damit besteigt nach einem ersten unglücklichen Versuch auf Gottes Geheiss der Mann den Thron, welcher als der grosse und ideale König schlechthin bis in die Zeit Jesu betrachtet und geachtet wird. Ihm gelang es, ein israelitisches Grossreich mit Jerusalem als Mittelpunkt zu schaffen, welches auch unter seinem Sohn und Nachfolger Salomo noch Bestand hatte. Aber schon unter dem Enkel Rehabeam kam es zur Spaltung des Reiches. Mir scheint es bezeichnend dafür, dass dieses neue Königtum keine absolute Monarchie war, wenn nach Salomos Tode die in Sichem versammelten Israeliten dem jungen Rehabeam bestimmte Wünsche vorlegten, von deren Erfüllung sie seine Bestätigung als König abhängig machten. Durch seine Torheit, den Rat der alten Beamten seines Vaters zu missachten und auf die Einflüsterungen junger Männer seiner Generation zu hören, führt der König die Spaltung des Reiches herbei. „Was haben wir mit David zu schaffen?“ fragen die entrüsteten Israeliten und erwählen sich Jerobeam, einen klugen Beamten Salomos, zum König (1. König 12). Nach menschlichen Ermessen müsste es nun zum Bürgerkrieg kommen, und Rehabeam ist zur Verteidigung des väterlichen Erbes entschlossen, aber Gott lässt dem König durch den Gottesmann Semaja sagen, das Volk solle in Ruhe nach Hause zurückkehren; denn er habe alles so gefügt. In der Tat zeigt sich das komplizierte Verhältnis zwischen König, Volk und Gottes Willen wiederum darin, dass die Verstocktheit Rehabeams nur ein Mittel in Jahves Hand war, um eine Verheissung zu erfüllen, die er durch den Propheten Ahia von Silo dem Jerobeam gegeben hatte (1. Kön. 11,29 ff.), der schon zu Lebzeiten Salomos aus Furcht vor Nachstellungen nach Aegypten geflüchtet war und nach Salomos Tode zurückkehrte, um als Thronbewerber auf-

zutreten. Schwerlich wird die lange theologische Begründung in 1. Kön. 11,33-39, welche Ahia dem Jerobeam bei seiner Berufung zum König gegeben hat, eine wirklich gehaltene prophetische Rede sein; denn sie mutet an wie eine ausgewogene Betrachtung, welche Jahves Schritt begründet, Salomo schont und dem Hause David die bittere Aussicht, in Zukunft auf Juda und Jerusalem beschränkt zu werden, damit annehmbar zu machen sucht, dass diese Entscheidung „nicht für alle Zeiten gelte“. Die Ueberlieferung hat damit einen gewissen Ausgleich zu 2. Samuel 7,14-16 geschaffen, wo Gott die ewige Dauer des Hauses David zugesagt hat, welche 1. Kön. 6, 11-13 für Salomo bekräftigt und in 1. Kön. 9 unter Hinweis auf die Zusage an David wiederholt wird. Man sieht hier, wie bei dem Vorgang der Reichsteilung politisch-profane und prophetisch-priesterliche Reflexion miteinander verknüpft werden. (vgl. 1. Kön. 12, 15).

Welche Schwierigkeiten für Jerobeam bestanden, dem neuen Staat Israel kultische Selbständigkeit gegenüber Jerusalem und seinem Tempel zu schaffen, lehren seine von späterer Geschichtsschreibung als Abgötterei beurteilten Kultmassnahmen, die 1. Kön. 12, 25 ff. geschildert werden. (vgl. dazu Noth, Geschichte Israels S. 201 f). Jerobeam fühlte ganz richtig, welche Anziehungskraft Jerusalems Tempel mit dem Heiligtum der Lade für alle Stämme des Volkes ausüben musste und wie leicht sich die Gunst des Volkes dem Enkel Davids oder seinem Nachfolger wieder zuwenden konnte, war ihm doch von dem Propheten Ahia (1. Kön. 12, 38) ausdrücklich David als Vorbild, dem er nachzueifern habe, hingestellt worden. Es ist bezeichnend, dass ihm die in Bethel und Dan errichteten Stierbilder als Götzendienst ausgelegt wurden und dass derselbe Ahia, welcher ihn berief, ihm im Namen Jahves die Ausrottung seines Hauses ankündigen musste (1. Kön. 14, 6-16). Sie erfolgte durch Baesa (15, 25 ff.) Fortan ist die Geschichte des Königtums Israels eine Kette von Umstürzen und Dynastiewechseln, bis dieses Nordreich 722 v. Chr. zugrunde geht. Im Jahre 910 rottet Baesa das Haus Jerobeams aus, 886 stürzt Simri das Haus Baesa, 842 beseitigt Jehu das Haus Ahabs, der mit ausdrücklicher Weisung Elias von einem seiner Schüler überraschend zum König gesalbt wurde (2. Kön. 9). Jehu beseitigt den Baalsdienst, aber er wie sein Sohn Joahas, sein Enkel Joas und dessen Sohn Jerobeam II. (784-744) unter dessen langer Regierung Israel noch einmal eine Glanzzeit erlebt, handeln nicht im Sinne Jahves. Gerade in dieser

Zeit äusseren politischen Glanzes wirkt der Prophet *Hosea*, der über das Königtum wohl das härteste Urteil unter allen alttestamentlichen Propheten gefällt hat: „Sie haben Könige eingesetzt ohne mein Geheiss, sie haben Fürsten bestellt, ohne dass ich darum wusste. Aus ihrem Silber und Gold haben sie sich Götzenbilder gemacht nur zu dem Zweck, dass sie der Vernichtung anheimfallen..... Sie sollen bald aufhören, Könige und Fürsten zu salben; denn zahlreiche Altäre hat Ephraim sich zum Sündigen errichtet und zur Versündigung sind ihm die Altäre auch geworden..... Der Herr hat kein Wohlgefallen an ihnen. Nunmehr wird er ihrer Schuld gedenken und sie für ihre Sünden strafen: Nach Aegypten sollen sie zurückkehren“ (Hos. 8, 4 ff.). Hier handelt es sich nicht um Kritik an einzelnen Königen, welche Jahve stürzen und durch andere ersetzen wird, hier wird die Einrichtung des Königtums als solche verworfen und in radikaler Weise die Rückkehr in das Land der Knechtschaft angedroht. Worte wie Hos. 9, 15-17 und 13, 9-11 und 10, 13 b-15 liegen in derselben Richtung. Am bittersten wirkt aber das Wort 10,3 f „Sie sagen jetzt ja bereits: wir haben keinen König, denn den Herrn haben wir nicht gefürchtet, und der König — was kann der für uns tun? Sie machen leere Worte, schwören trügliche Eide, schliessen Bündnisse.....“ Und wenn diese Institution mit dem Schein sakraler Weihe umgeben wird, so gilt doch: „in ihrer Bosheit salben sie Könige, in ihrer Heuchelei Fürsten“. Das Buch dieses Propheten ist eine einzige Klage über die Abgötterei eines Volkes, dessen wahrer König nicht mehr Gott ist. Es offenbart zugleich, in welcher Zwangslage sich die Könige des Nordreiches befanden, welches die zahlreichen Fremdvölker nicht hatte aufsaugen können, dem Druck der Nachbarvölker ständig ausgesetzt war, sodass die Könige um der Erhaltung des Staates willen allerlei kultische Konzessionen machen und gar mit heidnischen Prinzessinnen Ehen schliessen mussten. Vom Standpunkt prophetischer Forderung radikalen Gehorsams war das Abkehr von Gott und Hinkehr zu weltlicher Machtpolitik. Und der ganze Groll der prophetisch-priesterlichen Front gegen die „Abgötterei Jerobeams“ und seiner Nachfolger entläd sich noch einmal in 2. Kön. 17, 21-23, wo rückschauend die Sache so dargestellt wird, als ob das Volk Israel allein sich vom Hause Davids losgerissen hätte, um Jerobeam zum König zu machen. Vergessen ist, was 1. Kön. 11, 30 ff. und 12, 15 geschrieben ist. Wir verstehen heute, dass dieser „Ungehorsam“ auf geschichtlich

bedingten Notwendigkeiten beruhte. Israel hatte den Druck der umwohnenden Völker, insbesondere der Grossreiche im Norden auszuhalten. Wenn unter Samuel, Saul und David, ja, unter Salomo das charismatische Element des Priester-Propheten mit dem konstitutionellen des Richters- und Königs vereinigt war, so traten beide mit der Reichsteilung auseinander in Gestalt von Propheten, welche im Namen Jahves Könige einsetzten und wieder stürzten, und Königen, welche aus der politischen Situation das Beste zu machen suchten und als Realpolitiker den Ansprüchen prophetischer Forderung nicht genügen konnten. Das kleine Südreich schien da in besserer Lage zu sein; denn es behielt trotz gelegentlicher Wirren (wie unter der Königin Athalja) die Nachkommenschaft Davids in Erbfolge. Seine Lage verschlechterte sich jedoch in dem Augenblick, wo das den äusseren Druck von Norden her abhaltende Nordreich dahingesunken war. Nun wird es selbst Spielball einer Weltpolitik, die es nur erleiden kann. Für den Frommen war der Untergang dieses Nordreiches eine schwere Anfechtung. Sollte Israels Gott doch nicht allmächtig sein, um sein Volk zu schützen? Die Wucht dieser Frage muss der fromme König Hiskia, den die Ueberlieferung neben seinen Ahnherrn David stellt, spüren, wenn bei einer Bedrohung Jerusalems der assyrische Grosskönig durch seinen Oberfeldherrn Volk und König von Jerusalem höhnisch fragen lässt: hat etwa von den Göttern der andern Völker irgend einer sein Land aus der Hand des Königs von Assur retten können? und jetzt sollte Gott der Herr Jerusalem aus meiner Hand retten? Wo blieb denn Samaria? Und zum Schluss die gefährlichste Frage: Meint Ihr übrigens, dass ich ohne Zutun Eures Gottes gegen diesen Ort heranzog? Der Herr selbst hat mich aufgefordert, gegen dieses Land zu ziehen und es zu verheeren (2. Kön. 18, 33-35 und 25; 19, 10 ff.) Hier ist es Jesaja (im Jahre 701) der, in der Not befragt, im Auftrage Jahves ein tröstliches Wort zu sagen hat: Sanherib wird abziehen und bald ermordet werden. Und so kam es denn auch. Jahve erwies sich als mächtiger als Assurs König und Assurs Götter. Wenn Sanherib auf Jahves Geheiss gegen Jerusalem heranzog, dann geschah es, damit er scheitere und Jahves Macht offenbare. Das Gebet des frommen Königs Hiskia (2. Kön. 19, 15 ff.), Gott möge sich als Herr über alle Reiche der Erde erweisen, erfüllte sich. Hier spüren wir noch einmal die Wirkung prophetischer Predigt im Handeln eines Königs. Israels Gott — so steht nach dem Untergang des Nordreiches

fest — geht nicht als Volksgott mit seinem Staate zugrunde. Der Glaube an seine Macht ist unabhängig von dem Geschick des von ihm erwählten Volkes und seines Staatswesens. Israel wird auch als Kultgemeinde ohne Staat jahrhundertlang weiter existieren.

Aber Hiskia kann und muss in seiner Situation beten: „Herr unser Gott, errette uns aus seiner Hand, damit alle Reiche auf Erden erkennen, dass Du, Herr, allein Gott bist!“ (2. Kön. 19, 19). Das ist ein Höhepunkt israelitischen Gottesglaubens und einer der seltenen Augenblicke in Israels Geschichte, wo Prophet und König nicht widereinander stehen. Man begreift es daher, wenn priesterliche Geschichtsschreibung Hiskia neben David stellt, aber sie kann auch nicht verschweigen, dass derselbe König bald — um dem Druck Assurs zu entgehen — mit Babylons Herrscher Beziehungen anknüpfte, und wegen seiner Vertrauensseligkeit gegenüber Babylons Gesandten aus Jesajas Mund vernehmen muss, dass die Schätze seines Palastes nach Babylon gebracht und etliche seine Söhne dort als Kämmerer dienen werden (2. Kön. 20, 14-18). Für die seelische Verfassung des Königs ist bezeichnend (ebenda Vers 19) dass er die Ankündigung Gottes ergeben hinimmt, aber mit dem Nebengedanken: es wird Friede und Sicherheit herrschen, solange ich lebe. Sein Sohn Manasse (691-638) wird als Muster von Abgötterei und Grausamkeit geschildert. Er ist nach Gottes Androhung „durch den Mund seiner Knechte der Propheten“ Anlass dazu, dieses Volk zu verstossen und damit zum Untergang des Südreiches (2. Kön. 21, 10 ff.) Zwar kann sein Enkel Josia 31 Jahre regieren — sein Sohn wurde nach zweijähriger Regierung ermordet — und die grosse Kultusreform mit der Zentralisation des Gottesdienstes in Jerusalem durchführen. Auch im Privatleben wird alle Abgötterei ausgerottet, sodass Josia als gesetzestreuer König das höchste Lob erhält (2. Kön. 23, 24 ff.). Aber er muss im Kampf gegen Pharao Necho bei Megiddo mit 39 Jahren fallen (608) und der Geschichtsschreiber hebt hervor, dass sein Eifer den Zorn Gottes wegen der Untaten Manasses nicht mehr zu lindern vermochte. Gott ist entschlossen, sich Juda samt Jerusalem und seinem Tempel aus den Augen zu schaffen, wie er Israel beseitigt hatte. Josias Nachfolger werden als abgöttisch bezeichnet. Ihre Regierung vollzieht sich im Schatten Babylons, dessen Freundschaft ein Hiskia noch erstrebt hatte, und Nebukadnezar vollstreckt Gottes Strafgericht. So ist die Androhung Hoseas wahr geworden, nur mit dem Unterschied, dass es nicht nach

Aegypten zurückgeht, sondern in die babylonische Gefangenschaft. Was ist nun geblieben von Davids „ewiger Königsherrschaft“? Zunächst nichts als der kleine Lichtblick, dass der babylonische Herrscher den letzten König Jojachin nach 37 jähriger Haft begnadigt und als Gast an seine Tafel zieht, damit er hier sein Leben als Kostgänger eines fremden Grosskönigs beende (2. Kön. 25, 27-31). Damit schliesst die Geschichte der israelitischen Könige. Für die Weltpolitik der damaligen Zeit war die Geschichte dieses kleinen Staatswesens so unbedeutend, dass Nebukadnezar die Beseitigung des Staates Juda in seinen Inschriften überhaupt nicht erwähnt. Noch kein halbes Jahrtausend hat Israels Königtum gedauert. Was von den israelitischen Stämmen im Lande zurückblieb, war eine Bevölkerung von Untertanen in verschiedenen, von Statthaltern des Grosskönigs verwalteten Provinzen. Gottes erhabenes Walten hatte über den Königen gestanden. Seine Propheten als Gegenspieler blieben auch weiter Mund u. Werkzeug seines Willens. Ein Deutero-Jesaja, ein Hesekiel erhalten den Gottesglauben im Volk der Verbannung aufrecht. Dieser Gott — den schon Hiskia als Herrn der Völker erkannte, — lässt Babylon als Weltmacht bald versinken und führt seinen Knecht Kyros herauf, der die Wiedererrichtung des Tempels in Jerusalem gestattet. In den Wirren nach dem Tode des Kambyses (522) schien zunächst eine Weltenwende einzutreten, welche auf ein Kommen der Gottesherrschaft hindeutet, ehe Darius I. die Zügel fest in der Hand hatte und alles im alten Geleise weiter ging. In dieser Situation verheisst der Prophet Haggai (2,20 ff.) dem Statthalter Serubbabel von Juda nach Vernichtung der heidnischen Königreiche seine Erhöhung zum Herrscher d.h. zum Stellvertreter Gottes auf Erden als seinen „Siegelring“. Serubbabel war ein Enkel des letzten Königs Jojachin. Und Sacharja 6, 9-13 wird man so deuten dürfen, dass für Serubbabel eine Königskrone hergestellt werden soll. Hier knüpft sich also eine lebendige Geschichtserwartung an einen Davididen, der sich ohnehin des von Haggai befürworteten Tempelbaues annahm. Es ist bezeichnend, wie sehr die prophetische Auffassung eines Deuterojesaja von der Grösse Gottes vergessen ist, wenn Haggai sich Gott ohne eine Wohnung im Tempel nicht vorstellen kann. Einzigartig ist jedenfalls in Israels Geschichte vor dem Auftreten Johannes des Täufers und Jesu, dass sich hier eine messianische Erwartung an eine konkrete geschichtliche Person knüpft. Aber diese Erregung flaute bald wieder

ab, offenbar ohne Folgen für die Beteiligten. Die Geschichte der Priesterkönige der Makkabäerzeit und des Hauses Herodes können wir hier auf sich beruhen lassen. Auch diese beiden Perioden späten Königtums blieben Episoden. Zur Abwechslung in Israel-Judas bewegter Geschichte kam dieses Mal der Oberherr nicht aus dem Osten, sondern aus dem fernen Westen. Er machte im Jahre 70 n. Chr. zum 2. Male und nun für fast 1900 Jahre mit Jerusalem als Sitz des israelitisch-jüdischen Kultus ein Ende. Das moderne Israel kann wegen seiner stark mohamedanischen und auch christlichen Bevölkerung kein so strenges Regiment in Kultusdingen führen, wie es die Propheten des Alten Testamentes forderten. Ein Staatswesen mit einem Volk, welches Gott allein anbetet und nach seinen Geboten als Gesetzen lebt, ist das alte Israel zum Kummer seiner Propheten nie gewesen. Auch das moderne Israel wird ohne den Grundsatz der Toleranz nicht existieren können, hat es doch zionistische Mitbürger, welche begeistert an dem neuen Staate mitbauen, aber Atheisten sind.

III

Wir hätten die Geschichte des israelitischen Königtums nur einseitig gezeichnet, wenn wir sie als die Geschichte einer gescheiterten Idee betrachten wollten, und zwar deshalb gescheitert, weil das Königtum Jahves über dieses erwählte Volk die Einrichtung eines irdischen Königs nicht zugelassen hätte. Es wäre doch sehr gut denkbar, dass der König zur Schutzgottheit in einem ähnlichen Verhältnis des Stellvertreters oder Statthalters gestanden hätte, wie das in orientalischen Nachbarvölkern der Fall war. Neben der prophetischen Dynamik, welche die Herrschaft Gottes immer wieder als zukünftig ankündigt, steht ja doch eine priesterlich-statische Auffassung, welche an Schöpfung und Gesetzgebung anknüpfend, den Gott der festen Ordnung predigt und seine Macht aus Beispielen der Geschichte erhärtet. Gerade die Kultlieder des A. T. preisen gern Jahves ewige, die Existenz der Welt vor jeder Bedrohung sichernde Macht (im Sinne des Bundes mit Noah vgl. Genesis 9, 12 ff). Sicherheit gibt der Aufblick zu dem Weltengott, welcher alles fest in Händen hält (so in den Psalmen 103, 105, 115, 135). Dieser Gott ist über alle nichtigen Heidengötter erhaben, und wo ein Gericht von ihm angedroht wird (z.B. Psalm 75, 46 u. 76), da wird es als ein auf Erden sich vollziehendes angesehen.

Lediglich bei den sogenannten Thronbesteigungspsalmen (93, 96, 97, 99) sieht man nicht ganz klar, ob hier an Gottes durch die Schöpfung begründetes ewiges Königtum gedacht ist oder an die Aufrichtung seines Thrones in einer eschatologisch bedingten Erwartung. Zweifellos steht sich prophetische Dynamik, die das geschichtliche, richtende Walten Gottes nur als Vorstufe seiner zukünftigen endgültigen Herrschaft ansieht, und priesterlich-kultische Statik, welche aus Gottes Schöpfertum und der bisherigen geschichtlichen Erfahrung den Glauben an eine feste Ordnung ableitet, in unaufhebbarer Spannung gegenüber. (vgl. W. Eichrodt: *Theologie des A.T.* I 214 ff.).

Aber es will uns scheinen, als ob ein durch die ganze Prophetie und Geschichtsschreibung zu verfolgender Gedanke die beiden Linien in der Zukunft sich schneiden lässt, obwohl dieser Gedanke immer Hoffnung auf eine bessere Zukunft bleibt: Das ist die Wiederaufrichtung der Königsherrschaft Davids, welche sowohl als wiederkehrende (im Sinne einer geschichtlichen Restauration) wie auch als zukünftige (im Sinne endzeitlicher Vollendung der Königsherrschaft Gottes auf Erden) verstanden worden ist. Eine entsprechende Gedankenlinie ist durch das alttestamentliche Schrifttum, insbesondere durch die Propheten deutlich zu verfolgen. Es wäre doch wohl moderner Rationalismus, wenn man diesbezügliche Heilsweissagen der Propheten, da diese Männer nur Unheilsverkünder gewesen seien, auf unbekannte Redaktoren zurückführen wollte. Es würde bedeuten, dass man „Heilspropheten“ als unbekannte Korrektoren der Unheilspropheten denken müsste. Daneben gab es ja Heilspropheten in Gestalt von Hofpropheten, welche die Aufgabe hatten, die Wünsche des jeweiligen Königs als gottwohlgefällig zu bestätigen. Zu solchen „Heilsweissagen“ haben sich freilich die echten Jahvepropheten nie hergegeben. Wenn sie trotzdem nicht beim Unheil stehen blieben, sondern hinter allen Katastrophen Heil kommen sahen, so hatte das m.E. seine guten Gründe. War alles Unheil durch menschliche Blindheit und Eigenmächtigkeit hervorgerufen, notwendig als göttliche Massnahme strafender Erziehung oder sich manifestierender Gerechtigkeit, wie sie einem Herrn der Welt zukommt, so konnte doch nicht Unheil Gottes letztes Ziel sein. An Gottes Treue hinsichtlich seiner Bundschliessung mit diesem Volke ist für die Propheten kein Zweifel möglich — trotz alles Zornes und trotz der „Reue“ Gottes, die sich jeweilig auf konkrete geschichtliche Vorgänge bezieht und Gottes Reaktion auf mensch-

liches Verhalten darstellt. Der lebendige Gott und Herr ist ja kein starres Prinzip. Mit aller realistischen Beurteilung der Gegenwart verbinden die Propheten eine feste Hoffnung auf die Zukunft. Der israelitische Gottesglaube als Glaube an die alleinige Macht Gottes fordert ein die Geschichte transzendierendes Moment. Der israelitische Glaube als ein Dennoch wider den Augenschein enthält ein Element der Hoffnung. So kommt es zu einer Enderwartung, so wird aus dem David von einst, dessen Thron eine ewige Dauer verheissen wurde, der Messias der Zukunft als Sohn Davids, wobei es zunächst offen bleiben mag, ob es sich um Wiederherstellung der alten Glanzzeit oder um Neuschöpfung nach Ueberwindung dieser Weltzeit handelt. Beides ist schwer zu trennen und in seiner geschichtlichen Entstehung kaum eindeutig zu klären. Wir lassen diese Probleme daher bewusst beiseite, um nunmehr der geschichtlichen Skizze des israelitischen Königtums die ergänzende von dem Gedanken der Herrschaft Gottes durch Erneuerung der Herrschaft Davids an die Seite zu stellen.

Wenn Hosea, der scharfe Kritiker des Königtums, in 2, 16-22 doch eine Versöhnung zwischen Gott und dem Volk in Aussicht stellt, so mag man ernstlich fragen, ob Stellen wie 2, 2 und 3, 4 f unecht sind und der Intention des Propheten völlig widersprechen. Eissfeldt (Einleitung in das A.T., S 433) möchte 3, 5 für echt halten und nur eine spätere Einfügung der Worte „und David ihren König“ annehmen. So wie der Text uns überliefert ist, gehören Rückkehr zu Gott und Rückkehr zum legitimen Herrscherhaus zusammen, wenn sich nach 2, 2 Israel und Juda wieder unter einem Oberhaupte einigen sollen. Es erscheint völlig natürlich, die Beseitigung der unseligen Spaltung auf diesem Wege zu erwarten. Ähnlich liegt es bei dem Propheten Amos, wenn in 9, 11 die Wiederaufrichtung der zerfallenen Hütte Davids in Aussicht gestellt wird. In Jeremia 30, 9 finden wir jenen Tag angekündigt, da Gott das Joch zerbricht, Fremde nicht mehr Israel knechten, „sondern dem Herrn ihren Gott sollen sie dienen und ihren König David, den ich erwecken will“. Gottesdienst u. Königsdienst werden dann keine Gegensätze mehr sein, wie das im Augenblick leider der Fall ist. Offensichtlich beziehen sich diese Worte auf Israel und Juda zusammen, wie aus 30, 3 zu entnehmen ist. Derselben Ansicht ist auch der Prophet des Exils Hesekiel, bei dem es Kap. 34, 23 f heisst: „Ich will einen einzigen Hirten über sie bestellen, der sie weiden soll, meinen Knecht David: Der soll sie weiden und der soll

ihr Hirt sein. Und ich, der Herr, will ihr Gott sein, und mein Knecht David soll Fürst in ihrer Mitte sein — Ich, der Herr, bestimme es so!“ Und in dem grossartigen Kap. 37, in welchem die Neuschaffung des Volkes Israel geschildert wird, ist auch von der Wiedervereinigung der Reiche Israel und Juda die Rede. „Ich will sie dann zu einem einzigen Volk machen, in dem Lande, auf den Bergen Israels, sodass ein einziger König über alle herrscht; und sie sollen nicht wieder zwei Völker sein und nicht wieder zwei getrennte Reiche bilden (37, 22)“. Das geeinte Volk wird sich nicht wieder an Götzen verunreinigen und vor allen Treubrücken seinem Gott gegenüber bewahrt bleiben, sie sollen wieder im Land ihrer Väter wohnen „mein Knecht David aber soll König über sie sein und sie sollen alle einen einzigen Hirten haben; dann werden sie nach meinen Weisungen wandeln und meine Satzungen beobachten und nach ihnen tun“ (Vers 24). In diesem Zukunftsbild — es ist ein paradiesisches Friedensreich, das Gott errichten wird — fehlt bezeichnenderweise David nicht. Es ist ganz klar, dass nur Gott allein dieses Reich heraufzuführen Macht und Willen hat. Man vergleiche dazu Jesaja 9, 1-6 und Kap. 11. Aus dem Stumpf Isais wird ein Schössling hervorwachsen, auf dem der Geist des Herrn ruht und der ein Reich des Friedens schafft. In diesem Reiche werden die zerstreuten Israeliten gesammelt sein, eine Strasse aus Assyrien soll für den Rest des Volkes da sein, wie eine solche für Israel da war zur Zeit seines Auszuges aus Aegypten (Jes. 11, 16). Hier erscheint David oder ein Davidsspross als messianischer König. Man mag diese Weissagungen zeitlich ansetzen, wie man will, auf jeden Fall bleibt die Kraft dieser Zukunftshoffnung erstaunlich. Dieses ersehnte Reich der Zukunft wird eben nicht durch Könige und deren Machtpolitik entstehen, es wird sich nicht nach historischen Gesetzen zwangsläufig entwickeln, sondern wird als Tat Gottes ein Wunder sein, durch welches er am Ende seiner Tage seine Macht und Herrlichkeit offenbart. Dass dieses Endreich an David und seine Dynastie geknüpft wird, ist kein Zufall, war doch die Erinnerung an diese glanzvolle Vergangenheit gerade im Unglück lebendig, glaubte man doch, Gott werde die Zusage vom 2. Sam. 7, 16 erfüllen. Noch in 1. Makk. 2, 57 wird ausdrücklich auf diese Stelle hingewiesen und in 1. Makk. 4, 30 erinnert Judas Makkabäus in einem kurzen Gebet, vor der Schlacht gegen den syrischen Feldherrn Lysias, Gott mit einem Lobpreis daran, dass er als Retter Israels einst den Ansturm des

Riesen Goliath durch seinen Knecht David zunichte gemacht habe und heute ebenso verfahren möge. Immer wieder flammt die Hoffnung auf, dass Gott die dem David gegebene Zusage erfüllen möge. Jes. 55, 3 wird ein ewiger Bund verheissen, um die dem David verheissenen unverbrüchlichen Gnadengüter zu verwirklichen. Der 89. Psalm erfleht inbrünstig die Erfüllung der dem David gegebenen Verheissung. Auch Psalm 132 behandelt dieses Thema. Und ein letztes Zeugnis mag noch genannt sein, der 17. aus den sogenannten Psalmen Salomos. Jenseits der Bücher der Chronik, welche David als den Kultreformer gezeichnet hatten (vgl. 1. Chronik 16 u. 17 und 2. Chronik 13, 5), flammt die alte Davidshoffnung hier in einem Psalm auf, der in das erste vorchristliche Jahrhundert zu datieren ist, mag mit dem Fremdländer (Vers 9), der ein nicht von Davids Verheissungen getragenes Herrscherhaus stürzte, welches nur der Sünde des Volkes sein Dasein verdankte (Vers 4-6), nun Pompejus oder besser Herodes gemeint sein, wir kämen damit in das Jahr 63 oder 37 v. Chr. Dass Gott seinem Volke einen Sohn Davids als König erwecken werde, der ein Reich ohne Gewalt und Sünde errichten wird, mit Gottes machtvoller Unterstützung, das ist der Wunsch des Psalmisten. Wenn dieser Psalm gegen Herodes gedichtet wäre, so kämen wir damit in nächste Nachbarschaft zu Matth. 2, 1-12. Damit wäre die Aufgabe gestellt, die christliche Erwartung vom Davidssohn-Messias unmittelbar anzuschliessen und ihre literarischen Spuren im Neuen Test. zu verfolgen.

IV

Die beiden ersten Kapitel des Matthäusevangeliums legen uns dar, dass Jesus ein Spross aus dem Hause Davids ist, welcher durch die wunderbare Mission der drei Weisen aus dem fernen Osten dem König Herodes zur Gefahr wird. Wie aber einst Moses vor dem Wüten des Pharao gerettet und von Gott auf wunderbare Weise für seine grosse Aufgabe als Befreier seines Volkes aus ägyptischer Knechtschaft bewahrt wurde, ebenso wunderbar wird dieses Kind der Maria vor den Nachstellungen des Herodes durch einen vorübergehenden Aufenthalt der Eltern in Aegypten bewahrt. Es muss jedem Leser unmittelbar deutlich werden, dass dieser Schritt, in das Ausland zu fliehen, nicht den vernünftigen Erwägungen des Elternpaares entspringt, sondern auf eine Weisung Gottes selbst durch die Ver-

mittlung eines Engels, welcher Josef im Traum erscheint, zurückgeht. Josef ist in dieser Erzählung als Familienoberhaupt die handelnde Persönlichkeit. Er muss auch nach Matth. 1, 16 als Davidide angesehen werden (ebenso Lk 2, 4). Anders werden diese Vorgänge bei gleicher Grundtendenz in der Kindheitsgeschichte des Lukasevangeliums Kap. 1 u. 2 geschildert. Einzelheiten textkritischer Art hat Martin Dibelius in seiner Studie „Jungfrauensohn und Krippenkind“ gründlich erörtert. (Sie ist abgedruckt in dem Sammelband „Botschaft und Geschichte“ I 1953 S. 1 ff.). Dibelius möchte in Luk. 1, 27 lesen „Der Engel Gabriel kam zu einer Jungfrau aus dem Hause Davids“ (Anstatt: zu einer Jungfrau, die mit einem Manne namens Josef aus dem Hause Davids verlobt war), da durch die Einfügung der Person des Josef (vgl. Vers 34-35) der Sinn des folgenden gestört werde. Die dem zu erwartenden Kinde beigelegten Prädikate in Luk. 1, 32 sind als Messiasprädikate zu werten; denn dieser Davidspross soll den Thron seines Ahnherrn David für ewige Zeit erhalten. Mit Recht hebt m.E. Dibelius hervor, dass sich diese Ankündigung noch ganz im Rahmen jüdischer messianischer Erwartung bewegt. Erst auf die Frage der Maria, wie das denn zugehen solle, erhält sie die Antwort, dass dieses Kind ein wunderbar vom Heiligen Geiste gezeugtes sein werde, also ohne Zutun eines irdischen Mannes sein Leben auf Erden erhalten soll. Es ist klar, dass hier die Grenzen jüdischen Denkens völlig gesprengt werden. Darum versteht man die Ansicht C. Clemens und Rud. Bultmanns, dass die Verse Luk. 1, 34-37 als Interpolation auszuscheiden seien und Vers 38 an Vers 33 angeschlossen werden müsse. Dann würde die Ankündigung des Engels, dass das Kind einer Jungfrau aus Davids Geschlecht oder (wenn man den ganzen Vers 27 beibehält) einer künftigen Ehefrau eines Nachkommens Davids König über das Haus Jakob werden solle, nichts Befremdliches besagen, sondern ganz in die Linie alttestamentlich-prophetischer Erwartung einzuordnen sein. Wunderbar wäre dann nicht die Entstehung dieses Kindes, sondern sein wider allen Augenschein verheissenes Königtum, wo doch zur Zeit seiner Geburt der mächtige Herodes regiert! In der Lukasdarstellung wird diese Seite des Problems, welches nach Matth. 2,2-12 von den fremden Magiern angeschnitten und von den Schriftgelehrten auf Befehl des beunruhigten Herodes aus Micha 5,1 u. 3 gedeutet wird, nicht berührt. Die Frage der Maria in Luk. 1,34 bezweifelt nicht die Möglichkeit künfti-

gen Königtums, sondern die Möglichkeit der Geburt überhaupt. Aber schon das erste Wort des Engels in Vers 31, welches auf dieses Ereignis hinweist, ist bis in den Wortlaut hinein eine Anlehnung an Jesaja 7,14. Die Erzählung ist von vornherein auf das Motiv der Jungfrauengeburt angelegt. Man darf die Verse 34-37 also nicht entfernen, ohne den Sinn des Ganzen zu zerstören. Es wäre ja ohnehin die Frage: Hat Lukas sie selbst hinzugesetzt oder hat er hier Tradition einfach weitergegeben, welche er schon vorfand? Der Engel Gabriel tadelt Maria jedenfalls nicht wegen ihres Zweifels, da ihre Frage (sie hat keinen Mann) vom natürlich menschlichen Standpunkt aus völlig berechtigt ist. Ohne sich in Einzelheiten zu verlieren, beschreibt der Engel den wunderbaren Vorgang in einer ähnlichen Weise, wie das in dem Mythos von Amon-Re und der Gattin Thutmosis I. schon geschehen ist (vgl. die Worte: „ich pflanze in Deinen Leib“ und dazu auch die Namensangabe des künftigen Kindes). Mag die parallele Erzählung in Matth. 1,18-25 nach ihrer Anlage apologetischen Charakters und daher — gemessen an der Lukaslegende — sekundäre Bildung sein (Dibelius S. 22 ff), auch bei Matth. steht Jesaja 7, 14 ausdrücklich als Schriftbeweis da (Matth. 1,23), um diesen Vorgang dem überraschten Josef zu erklären. Während Lukas dieses Wunder der Mutter ankündigen lässt, ist bei Matth. der Vater Empfänger der Offenbarung. In beiden Erzählungen erfolgt sie durch einen Engel Gottes, womit also jede menschliche Missdeutung ausgeschaltet werden soll. Und das Ergebnis ist ja auch: Josef wie Maria fügen sich gehorsam der göttlichen Weisung. Natürlich kann diese Auffassung nicht jüdischen Ursprungs sein; denn bei wunderbaren Geburten weiss rabbinische Tradition nur von Wiederherstellung der natürlich menschlichen Fruchtbarkeit, aber nicht von göttlicher Zeugung zu berichten. Wenn Paulus in Gal 4,27 wegen des Zitates von Jes. 54, 1 die Geburt Isaaks als wunderbare Zeugung aufgefasst haben sollte, wie Dibelius meint, dann steht dem gegenüber, dass er in Röm. 4,18-21 offenbar an die wunderbare Wiederherstellung der Zeugungsfähigkeit eines alten Ehepaares denkt und in Gal. 4,4 auf Jesus diese Interpretation von Jes. 7,14 nicht anwendet, stammt er doch von einer Gyne, aber nicht von einer Parthenos. In der Tat — nach jüdischer Lehre — ist Jesaja 7,14 so auf den Messias nicht anwendbar, wie Justin in seinem Dialog mit dem Juden Tryphon 49,1 bezeugt, wenn er diesen Juden sagen lässt: Wir alle nämlich erwarten, dass der Messias als ein Mensch von Menschen entstehen werde. Dem ent-

spricht, dass Tryphon in Jes. 7,14 nicht Parthenos, sondern Neanis übersetzen will. (Dial. 67,1 und 71,3). Wenn Philon nun das Pneuma als lebensspendende Kraft deutet, welches anstelle eines Mannes wirksam wird, (bei Sara, Lea, Rebekka, Zippora vgl. de Cherubim 45,47), wenn er ἐπισκοπεῖν wie Lukas das ἐπισκιάζειν gebraucht (Dibelius S. 31-34), wenn endlich Plutarch als ägyptische Lehre überliefert ὡς γυναικὶ μὲν οὐκ ἀδύνατον πνεῦμα πλησιάσαι θεοῦ καὶ τινὰς ἐντεκεῖν ἀρχὰς γενέσεως, ἀνδρὶ δ' οὐκ ἔστι σύμμειξις πρὸς θεὸν οὐδ' ὁμιλία σώματος (Numa 4, 6), so stehen wir mit dieser Auffassung neben Matth. 1 und Luk. 1! Direkte Abhängigkeit von altägyptischen Theogamiemythen kommt selbstverständlich nicht infrage, aber indirekte Verwandtschaft liegt doch vor, nur dass anstelle des Gottes selbst sein Pneuma getreten ist. Dass man von Platon und Alexander dem Grossen ähnliches erzählt, wird uns bei deren Beziehung zu Aegypten nicht wundern. Wir bezeichnen solche Mischformen des Denkens, welche zwischen einer rein heidnisch-mythischen und einer alttestamentlich-jüdischen Auffassung stehen, gewöhnlich als hellenistisch-jüdisch. Dibelius gesteht, dass die Erzählung vom Jungfrauensohn in die Nähe heidnischer Stoffe gelangt sei (S. 47), und zeigt an späterer Verstärkung solchen synkretistischen Einflusses, dass die kirchliche Theologie die Geister des Synkretismus in Schranken halten müsse, denen sie selbst erst das Tor geöffnet habe (ebenda S. 52).

In der Tat: Die Verkündigung Gabriels steht auf dem Schnittpunkt zweier Linien, deren eine mit dem uralten Theogamiemythos, deren andere mit der Verheissung an David anhebt. Die christliche Auffassung von der Geburt des Messias ist weder nach heidnischer noch nach jüdischer Auffassung „orthodox“; denn der fromme Jude wird die Zeugung Jesu durch den Geist Gottes, der Ägypter aber seinen messianischen Anspruch aufgrund der Davissohnschaft ablehnen. Für beide, den Juden wie den Heiden, ist somit diese Geburtsgeschichte schon genau das, was später Kreuz und Auferstehung sind: ein Aergernis und eine Torheit. Wer diese schlichten Legenden aber in seiner Tiefe erfasst, der sieht: Zur Königsherrschaft Gottes auf Erden bedarf es eines Statthalters Gottes, der sie als Mensch unter Menschen darstellt und ausübt. Nach Gottes Verheissung soll er aus dem Geschlechte Davids stammen, um der Ewigkeit dieses Reiches willen kann er nicht blosser Mensch sein. Ein sterbender König offenbart sein Gottsein als blossen Mythos (man vergl. nur die Bemerkung des schwer erkrankten Vespasian: ich fürchte, ich werde ein Gott). Soll aber der

Messias als König der Endzeit Gott und Mensch zugleich sein, so kann hier nur ein Wunder als Machttat Gottes auf geheimnisvolle Weise angedeutet werden, und dieses Wunder muss ein zweites nach sich ziehen: dem Tod muss eine Auferstehung folgen, nur so kann der Messias die Königsherrschaft Gottes in seiner Person als ein ewiges Reich darstellen. Um die Ewigkeit dieser Herrschaft Gottes geht es. Sie ist Geschichte gestaltend und zugleich sie überwindend, wie 1. Kor. 15, 23-28 deutlich macht. Das Königtum Gottes ist also weiterhin eschatologischer Natur, d.h. echte Zukunft. Es hat mit Christus in der Welt begonnen „anzubrechen“ oder „nahe herbeizukommen“ und tut das in jeder Generation, welche in dieser Weltzeit lebt. Erst wenn der auferstandene Messias alle gottfeindlichen Mächte in der Welt niedergerungen hat und dann Gott alle Macht übergibt, damit er alles in allem sei — erst dann ist die Vollendung erreicht. Die urchristliche Lehre vom Königtum Gottes, welches der Gekreuzigte und Auferstandene auf Erden repräsentiert, ist also keine zeitlose Wahrheit, sondern ein eschatologisch fundierter Heilsglaube, welcher die Ueberwindung dieser Welt zugunsten der alleinigen Herrschaft Gottes erwartet. Dass um diese Wahrheit in der Urchristenheit gerungen wurde, wird in der Begegnung Jesu mit Pilatus offenbar. Für das nüchterne Denken des Römers ist Jesus ein Thronprätendent, der sich gegen den Kaiser erheben wollte. Sein Titulus am Kreuz „der König der Juden“ soll das besagen. Er hat den Angeklagten seinem eigenen Volke als König vorgestellt und darauf den heftigen Widerspruch hören müssen: Wir haben keinen König denn den Kaiser (Joh. 19,15). So staatstreu gebärden sich hier die Juden, dass sie dem römischen Statthalter bei Freilassung Jesu den Verlust seiner Freundschaft mit dem Kaiser androhen (19,12); denn „jeder, der sich zum König macht, widerspricht dem Kaiser“. Danach kann und darf es in dem grossen römischen Reiche keinen Menschen geben, der den Königstitel von sich aus beansprucht, ohne mit dem Kaiser in Rom in Konflikt zu geraten. Es ist eine andere Sache, wenn der Kaiser diesen Titel von sich aus verleiht (vgl. Herodes und seine Nachkommen). Schon zu Eingang des Verhörs hatte Pilatus Jesus gefragt, ob er der König der Juden sei. Nach dem 4. Evangelium hat Jesus das nicht bestritten, aber sofort hinzugefügt, dass sein Königtum nicht aus dieser Welt stamme und daher auch nicht mit den Machtmitteln dieser Welt verteidigt werden könnte (Joh. 19, 33-37). Er ist ein König der Wahrheit, u. diese Wahrheit drängt man nie-

manden mit Gewalt auf, man bezeugt sie nur, damit sie gehört werde. Das ganze Verhör Jesu kreist hier also um den Basileusgedanken. Die Juden bitten zuerst Barrabas anstelle Jesu frei (19,40), dann, als Pilatus keine Schuld findet, betonen sie, dass er nach ihrem Gesetze sterben müsse, weil er sich zum Sohn Gottes erklärte (vgl. dazu Mark. 14, 61), endlich aber, als Pilatus den Königsanspruch Jesu hervorhebt, da betonen sie entschieden ihre Loyalität gegen den Kaiser in Rom. Ihre Taktik geht also dahin, diesen Gotteslästerer zu vernichten, und ihre wie auf Kommando bezeugte Kaisertreue möchte seltsam erscheinen, wenn nicht das wahre Motiv zur Verwerfung Jesu an anderer Stelle zutage träte: Lassen wir diesen Man so gehen, dann werden alle an ihn glauben und dann nehmen die Römer uns Stadt und Volk weg. Es ist besser, einer geht zugrunde als das ganze Volk (Joh. 11, 48). Niemand hat wohl so tief die Verblendung der Juden gesehen wie der 4. Evangelist. Die Meinung der verantwortlichen Oberen des Volkes, welche hier mit allen Mitteln der Beeinflussung einen solchen Volksentscheid herbeiführen, ist ja garnicht die Meinung vieler schlichter Menschen aus dem Volke. Wir tun hier gut, aus anderen neutestamentlichen Schriften Stellen herbeizuziehen, welche besagen, dass es eine lebendige messianische Volkserwartung gegeben hat, innerhalb derer auch die Frage des Davidssohnes eine Rolle gespielt hat. Es sind gerade Heilungsgeschichten, in welchen die um Hilfe bittenden Kranken Jesus als Davidssohn anflehen. So der blinde Bartimaios am Ausgang von Jericho nach Mark. 10, 47 und Luk. 18,38 (hier ist es ein Blinder ohne Namen), während es in Matth. 20, 30 zwei Blinde sind, die ihn (genau wie in Matth. 9, 27) als Davidssohn um Hilfe anflehen. Von daher versteht man in Matth. 12, 22-24 nach Heilung eines Blinden und Tauben die Frage des Volkes, ob dieser Wundertäter etwa der Davidsohn sei? Sie halten ihn möglicherweise für den Messias, der mit wundertätigen Kräften ausgestattet ist. Aber die anwesenden Pharisäer sind mit ihrem Urteil bei der Hand: Dieser treibt mit Beezebul dem Obersten der Dämonen die Dämonen aus. Es ist sehr bedeutungsvoll, dass das letzte der 5 Jerusalemer Streitgespräche (Mark. 12, 34 + 37, Matth. 22, 42 + 45 und Luk. 20, 41 + 44) die Frage des Davidssohnes als eine Gegenfrage Jesu an seine Gegner behandelt, auf welche diese freilich keine Antwort zu geben vermögen. (zu Einzelheiten vgl. Ernst Lohmeyer: Gottesknecht u. Davidssohn 1953 S. 64 f.). Und dass der in Jerusalem Einreitende als Davidssohn jubelt wird, welcher nun die Erfüllung uralter Hoff-

nung bringen soll, berichtet Matth. 21,9 ausdrücklich, während Mark. 11,10 die kommende Königsherrschaft unseres Vaters David lobpreist, also indirekt auf David Bezug nimmt, Lukas 19,38 den König im Namen des Herrn mit dem eschatologischen Titel „der Kommende“ bezeichnet und Joh. 12,13 ebenso verfährt. Wenn bei Lukas und Johannes der Titel Davidssohn nicht ausdrücklich genannt ist, so darf man doch angesichts von Luk. 2 annehmen, dass auch in 19,38 an einen Davididen gedacht ist. Lediglich das 4. Evangelium könnte eine Ausnahme machen, weil es nichts von der Bethlehemtradition wissen will u. Jesus den Galiläer nirgends ausdrücklich als Davidssohn bezeichnet. Trotzdem weiss es von lebhaften Messiasdebatten im Volk, welche sich um die Person Jesu drehen (7,26. 31 u. 40, dazu 9,33). Aber Worte wie 7,41-42, in denen eine gewisse Volksgruppe gegen die Mesianität Jesu Zweifel äussert, weil nach alter Weissagung der Messias aus Bethlehem der Davidsstadt kommen muss, lässt die Zurückhaltung des vierten Evangelisten erkennen, welche noch durch das harte Wort im hohen Rat an Nikodemus in 7,52 unterstrichen wird. Obwohl also Johannes wie kein anderer im Verhör vor Pilatus Jesus als den König herausstellt, greift er doch nicht auf den Davidstitel zurück. Vielleicht hielt er ihn nicht mehr für angemessen, weil sein König der König der Wahrheit für die Welt war. Wenn man aber bedenkt, dass dafür die Offenbarung Johannis im Kap. 5 Vers 5 u. 22,16 den erhöhten Herrn ausdrücklich als Löwen aus dem Stamm Juda, als Wurzel Davids anspricht, so ist doch dieser Gedanke wenigstens in der zweitgrössten der johanneischen Schriften vertreten. Nimmt man hinzu, dass Paulus in Röm. 1,3 die irdische Herkunft Jesu aus dem Geschlechte Davids für selbstverständlich hält und auch in 2. Tim. 2,8 der von den Toten erweckte Jesus Christus als aus dem Samen Davids stammend bezeichnet wird, so sieht man doch: Es ist eine breite Schicht urchristlicher Tradition, die von Mark. über Johannes und Paulus bis zu 2. Tim. 2,8 zu verfolgen ist. Dazu kommen noch einige indirekte Beweise aus den Reden der Apostelgeschichte (vgl. 2,25 ff; 2,29 + 34), wo der fromme Prophet und Psalmsänger David das Schicksal Jesu weissagen muss. Und wie Petrus in seiner grossen Pfingstrede David als Autorität bemühen muss, so tut das Paulus Apg. 13,34 ff. in seiner Predigt, welche er in der Synagoge des pisidischen Antiochien hält. Als Beweis für Jesu Auferstehung zitiert er nicht nur Psalm 16,10, sondern er verknüpft sie mit Jes. 55,3, um damit zu sagen: Der dem David verheissene

ewige Bund, welcher die unverbrüchlichen Gnadengüter Gottes verwirklichen soll, hat sich in Jesus dem Auferstandenen erfüllt. Der Gedanke der Davidssohnschaft ist in der neutestamentlichen Tradition nicht so eng begrenzt wirksam, wie Lohmeyer meint, wenn er auch (so auf S. 80 mit Recht) keine selbständige Tradition erzeugt hat, die *neben* der vom Gottesknecht und der andern vom Menschensohn bestünde.

Das ist ja überhaupt eines der wichtigen Ergebnisse von Lohmeyers tiefgrabender Untersuchung, dass sich für die Begriffe Menschensohn-Messias und Davidssohn-Messias (es gibt ja auch noch andere messianische Bezeichnungen, wie „Knecht Gottes“, „der Kommende“) keine klaren Grenzen der Tradition mehr ziehen lassen, um als deren Träger verschiedene Gemeindegruppen der ältesten Christenheit herauszustellen. Zunächst mag noch dieses festgestellt sein, dass es Spuren einer echten messianischen Erwartung, ohne ausdrückliche Bezugnahme auf die dem David gegebenen Verheissungen, in der urchristlichen Ueberlieferung gibt. Es muss sich um eine lebendige Volkserwartung handeln, welche sowohl unter Herodes wie unter den späteren römischen Statthaltern durch die Zeiten hindurchgetragen worden ist von Frommen, welche sich nicht mit der politischen Lage ihrer Zeit als gegeben abfinden wollten, sondern auf Israels Erlösung hofften. Dazu gehören Symeon und Hanna (Luk. 2,25 u. 2,38) mit einem grösseren Kreis von Menschen, welche „Jerusalems Erlösung erwarten“. Ausdrücklich wird Hanna als Prophetin bezeichnet, welche von Gott ermächtigt ist, zu Gleichgesinnten darüber zu sprechen. Zu diesem Kreis zählte auch Josef v. Arimathia (Luk. 23,51), auch er gehörte zu den „Wartenden“. Die beiden enttäuschten Emmausjünger (Luk. 24,21) sind hierzu zu rechnen, und nach Apg. 1,6 haben die 12 Apostel eine ähnliche Erwartung gehegt. Wenn sie die Frage an ihren Herrn stellen: Wann richtest Du in dieser Zeit das Königtum für Israel wieder her?, so kann nach allem, was Lukas im Evangelium Kap. 1 u. 2 gesagt hat, hier nur die Wiederaufrichtung der Königsherrschaft Davids gemeint sein. Gerade der dritte Evangelist hat sich dieser Tradition besonders angenommen. Aber daneben und zugleich dazwischen steht Johannes der Täufer mit seiner Frage aus dem Gefängnis: Bist Du der Kommende? (Matth. 11,2 ff.) Wenn Jesus ihm mit Worten antwortet, welche an Jesaja 35,5 f. anklingen, dann besagen sie, dass in seiner Person Gott selbst gekommen ist, um zu helfen. Bei dieser Gelegenheit erinnern wir uns noch einmal an die Bedeutung der Na-

mengebung. Dass nach Matth. 1,21 Josef, nach Lukas 1,31 Maria von dem Engel die Weisung empfangen, das zu erwartende Kind Jesus zu nennen, beweist ja schon den Sinn seines Kommens. In ihm kommt die Hilfe Gottes zu seinem Volk. Denken wir ferner noch an die Jüngergespräche Mark. 10,35 ff und Matth. 19,27 ff, so lassen sie deutlich erkennen, dass die Jünger Jesu für ihre unter Preisgabe der eigenen Existenz übernommene Nachfolge einen Ausgleich erwarten für ihr Opfer, wenn Jesus in seiner Herrlichkeit kommen wird. Und wie in dem Verhör vor dem heidnischen Statthalter die Königsfrage die entscheidende Rolle spielt, und ja auch den Titulus über dem Kreuz herbeiführt (Mark. 15,26. Matth. 27,37. Luk. 23,38. Joh. 19,19; man beachte, dass alle vier Evangelien darin übereinstimmen), so lautet in dem Verhör vor dem Hohenpriester die entscheidende Frage: Bist Du der Messias, der Sohn des Hochgelobten? (Mark. 14,61 f; Matth. 26,63 f; Luk. 22,67 ff. Joh. 18,19 berichtet dagegen nur allgemein, der Hohepriester habe Jesus über seine Jünger und seine Lehre befragt. Er drängt das Verhör vor dem Hohenrat gegenüber dem späteren vor Pilatus sichtlich zurück und vermeidet dadurch den Unterschied der beiden Antworten Jesu, die im Begriff des Menschensohnes und des Königs der Juden vorliegen). Einmütig berichten auch alle vier Evangelien, dass in einem „Volksbegehren“ vor Pilatus die Juden dem Barabbas vor Jesus den Vorzug gaben (Mark. 15,11 ff. Matth. 27,21 ff. Luk. 23,18 ff. Joh. 18,40). Darüber hinaus weiss Matthäus noch, dass das erregte Volk willig war, diese Blutschuld auf sich zu nehmen (27,25) — dasselbe Volk, welches ihn vor kurzem noch für einen Propheten hielt (21,26) und dessen Gunst Jesus bisher vor einem Zugriff der Obrigkeit geschützt hatte! Wenn nach einem bekannten Worte Martin Kählers die Evangelien eine verlängerte Fassung der Leidensgeschichte sind, und in dieser der Schwerpunkt auf der Messias-Königsfrage liegt, so wird Jesu Anspruch hier geschichtlich völlig eindeutig festgestellt. Damit empfängt aber die in Mark. 12,35-37 aufgeworfene Frage nach dem Davidssohn indirekt ihre Antwort. Wenn Jesu Bekenntnis vor dem Hohen Rat nach seinem Inhalt ein Zitat aus Psalm 110,1 und Daniel 7,13 ist, verstehen wir jetzt, warum der weissagende David seinen „Sohn“ seinen „Herrn“ nennen kann: weil in der eschatologischen Vollendung des Menschensohnes sich die dem David gegebene Verheissung (2. Sam. 7,16. vgl. Jes. 55,3) erst vollendet! Von religionsgeschichtlichem Standpunkt aus darf man folgendes sagen: Wie sich in der Geburtsgeschichte Jesu

alttestamentliche Weissagung und ägyptischer Theogamiemythos begegnet sind, so in der Leidensgeschichte messianische Volkserwartung und danielische Apokalyptik. War schon im Alten Testamente die Davidserwartung als messianische weit über die Grenzen reiner geschichtlicher Restaurationshoffnung hinausgewachsen — die Wiederherstellung der verfallenen Hütte Davids wurde ja als Wunder Gottes erwartet — so konnte die Volkserwartung zur Zeit Jesu hinter diese Linie nicht wieder zurückgehen. Charakteristischerweise sind die auf Israels Erlösung Wartenden auf der Seite Jesu und nicht auf der Seite des Barabbas, der an einem Aufstand beteiligt war (vgl. Mark. 15,7; Matth. 27,16 u. Luk. 23,18 f). Begreiflicherweise musste dem römischen Statthalter eher an der Verurteilung dieses Barabbas als an der Verurteilung Jesu liegen, der in seinen Augen für die römische Obrigkeit ungefährlich war. So vollzog sich in diesem weltgeschichtlich bedeutsamen Augenblick ein neues „Volksbegehren“, dessen Druck Pilatus nachgab. Natürlich sprach das Volk vom König „Israels“ als Glaubensgemeinde, während Pilatus über „den König der Juden“ verhandelt, wie seine Verhörsfrage beweist. Wenn der vierte Evangelist in dem Gespräch zwischen Jesus und Pilatus eine genaue Deutung des Begriffes Basileus geben lässt, so sieht man, wie der Gedanke des messianischen Königtums als eines nicht an diese Welt gebundenen die Grenzen israelitischer Volkserwartung gesprengt hat. Der König der Wahrheit, dessen Reich nicht von dieser Welt ist, ist an kein einzelnes Volk mehr gebunden, er hat eine Weltgemeinde aus Juden und Heiden, welche lediglich aus dem rechten Hören auf die Stimme der Wahrheit erwächst (vgl. das Hirtengleichnis in Joh. 10 mit seinem Hinweis auf die anderen Schafe in Vs 16; Joh. 11,52; 14,6 u.a.). Mit dieser weltweiten Deutung des Königsanspruchs ist zugleich der Absolutheitsanspruch verbunden. In Jesus tritt uns Weg, Wahrheit und Leben schlechthin entgegen. Auch Pilatus hätte das hören können, aber er hat offenbar nicht gehört, wenn er auch nicht widerspricht. Er hält sich mit seiner berühmten Frage: was ist Wahrheit?, die weder ironisch gemeint noch Ausdruck der Skepsis sein muss, neutral, vermag aber diesen Standpunkt infolge des Drucks der Juden nicht zu wahren. So verurteilt er Jesus nicht, lässt ihn auch nicht frei, sondern er „überlässt ihn“ den Juden zur Kreuzigung, welche dann seine Soldaten vollziehen. Nach allem, was vorherging, kann dieses Ueberlassen nicht auf ein Rechtsurteil begründet sein. Es ist dem Pilatus — so stellt es der am tiefsten blickende von den vier Evangelisten dar — abgenötigt

worden wider Willen, weil er aus der Angst vor der Masse und der Angst vor seinem Kaiser keinen Ausweg fand. Diesem „Machthaber“ steht die Macht dessen gegenüber, der die Weltangst überwunden hat (Joh. 16,33) u. seinem heidnischen Richter offen sagen kann, dass er keine Macht über ihn hätte, wenn sie ihm nicht von oben gegeben wäre (Joh. 19,11).

So geht der Weg zur Verwirklichung der Herrschaft Gottes über den Opfertod seines Sohnes in dieser Welt vonstatten. Die urchristliche Gemeinde weiss, dass mit den Wundern Gottes zu Ostern und Pfingsten dieser Kampf wohl grundsätzlich, aber noch nicht endgültig entschieden ist. Grossartiges Zeugnis für den Verlauf dieses Kampfes ist die das vierte Evangelium in dieser Hinsicht ergänzende Offenbarung des Johannes. Die Welt und mit ihr die christliche Gemeinde in der Welt hat unter entsetzlichen Plagen und Katastrophen zu leiden. Aber diesen Leiden auf der Erde korrespondiert der Triumphgesang im Himmel, wie er in Apokalypse 11,15 und 17-18; 12,10-12 ertönt. Die christliche Gemeinde ist sich dessen gewiss, dass der endgültige Sieg über die Welt und ihre Reiche Gott und dem Lamme gehören, welches als das für die Welt geopfert an seinem Endsiege teil hat (vgl. Apok. 19,2 ff; 21,22 und 22,3). Der aber, welcher dem christlichen Seher durch die Glut der Verfolgung hindurch den Weg zu dem grossen Friedensreiche Gottes zeigt, nach Niederringung aller gottfeindlichen Kräfte, bekennt am Schluss (22,16) von sich: Ich bin die Wurzel und das Geschlecht Davids, der helle leuchtende Morgenstern. Der die widergöttlichen Kräfte Besiegende trägt den Namen: König der Könige und Herr der Herren (Apok. 17,14). Wenn dieser Name nach 1.Tim. 1,17 nur Gott allein zuzukommen scheint, (vgl. auch ebenda 6,15) so weiss doch urchristlicher Glaube auch zu sagen, dass die Herrschaft Gottes zugleich die Herrschaft Christi ist (vgl. Eph. 5,5; Kol. 1,13 f). Und diese enge Verbindung (Königtum Gottes gleich Königtum Christi) hat nach Luk. 22,29 f Jesus vor seinem Ende seinen Jüngern offenbart. Dass dabei im Alten wie im Neuen Testamente das Königtum Gottes in dreifacher Weise gesehen wird, als ein zeitlos gültiges, ein ständig sich vergegenwärtigendes und als ein in Zukunft sich erst vollendendes, liegt nicht zuletzt an der begrenzten Art zeitgebundenen Denkens der erlösungsbedürftigen Menschen, welche sich auf andere Weise Gottes allumfassende Herrschaft nicht vorzustellen vermögen.

THE MYSTICISM OF ABRAHAM BAR DASHANDAD

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1. Abraham bar Dashandad, the East Syrian mystic, lived in the first half of the 8th century. The only one of his writings extant ¹⁾, is a letter which MINGANA has edited, and which in his edition comprises 16 pages. ²⁾ However, a closer study of this writing, in the heading called *'eḡarēṭā*, makes it clear that it is not a letter in the ordinary sense of the word, but an exhortation or tract of instruction to a monastic Brother who has decided to live as *ihīdāyā*, i.e. a hermit, or, factually more correct, an ascetic 2.14. From Dadisho Katraya, another East Syrian mystic who lived one generation earlier, at the end of the 7th century, we have good knowledge of the ascetic and hermit practice carried on in the Syrian church at that time. ³⁾ We can discern between two types of ascetics, namely those who devoted themselves to asceticism and solitary life for a fixed period, and those who did so for life. The first type was usual in the monasteries or in close connection with them. From time to time the monks withdrew from intercourse with the other monks and lived in isolation in a cell for a shorter or longer period, e.g. seven days or seven weeks. During this time they had no intercourse with the Brothers, apart from the fact that they were given food through an aperture and that a senior teacher might come to this aperture and say some exhortations to confirm the hermit to persevere in his resolve. Unlike these temporary ascetics who lived in seclusion in a cell, the anchorites lived far away from other human beings, in barren and inaccessible places without any connection with the monasteries and life there. However, there were also two intermediate types, namely hermits who lived in the desert

1) List of his works in A. BAUMSTARK, *Geschichte der Syrischen Literatur mit Ausschluss der christlich-palästinensischen Texte*, Bonn 1922, p. 240.

2) A. MINGANA, *Mystical treatise by Abraham bar Dashandad*, Woodbrooke Studies, Vol. VII, Early Christian Mystics, Cambridge 1934, p. 248 ff.

3) MINGANA, *op. cit.* p. 70 ff.

but occasionally returned to the monasteries and stayed there for a shorter or longer period, according as they felt a demand for intercourse with other Christians, and a special type of itinerant hermits, who wandered from monastery to monastery, and who lived in isolation in a cell during their stay in the monastery. This latter type can thus be considered a variation of the monastic cell ascetics who stayed in one particular monastery.

The question naturally arises: For what type of *ihidāyē*, hermits, did Abraham bar Dashandad write his letter? The heading gives no immediate explanation: "A letter by Mar Abraham bar Dashandad, which he wrote to his Brother, who had gone out *lēdubbārā daḡsē-nāyūtā*". The term "brother", *ʔahā*, in this instance as in so many others in this form of literature surely means, "monastic brother", i.e. monk and not full brother. When it is said about him that "he went out", *nēfaq*, it seems to mean that he left the monastery. However, the verb may very well be a terminus technicus meaning to give up the usual monastic life, so that the term *nēfaq* only means that he gave up the usual monastic life. As now *dubbārā* means "asceticism", "ascetic life", in the plural "ascetic exercises" and *ʔaksēnāyūtā*, Greek *xenia*, means "exile", "travel" or "hospitality", the question here is whether it means the abandonment of the normal monastic life in favour of an ascetic life in the cell, i.e. a transition from the life of a monk to that of a "guest" in the monastery, or, the abandonment of the mother house in favour of a life as an itinerant ascetic, i.e. a kind of "travelling ascetic." It is possible to interpret the heading in both directions. In his introduction MINGANA seems to have understood it in the first meaning. 4) If we take the letter in its entirety, however, I believe that only the second interpretation can be defended. For the case is that several of the exhortations can only be fully understood if the addressee lives outside the walls of the monastery. In 4.2 ff it is said: "Be carefull never to walk in unwatchfulness or pay tribute to wordly power whether in those who are near you or far from you." 5) He who lives in a cell, need not pay tribute to the mighty on earth. He, however, who is among ordinary people, is forced to do so. When in another place it is said that the addressee has the opportunity of observing how rich people live 8.16 ff and of inter-

4) MINGANA, *op. cit.* p. 185.

5) All quotations refer to page and line in Mingana's text.

course, ^c*enyānā*, with people who are evidently not monks 1.17 f 1.20 f 2.22 f 3.3 f 3.20 f 5.21 f, people who do not love Christ 9.15 f, it can, in my opinion not be doubted that the addressee, at any rate occasionally, lives outside the cell. However, a permanent life outside the monastery is out of the question, for it is said about him that he was engaged in studies, *yulfānā* 1.9 f 14.20 and *qeryānā* 2.17 3.2 f 10.6 f a characteristic feature of monastic life, and his ambition was to become a true hermit, *ihīdāyā* 2.13 f, which makes a normal life in society impossible. The conclusion must therefore be that we have to do with an itinerant *ihīdāyā*, a man wandering from monastery to monastery, where he devotes himself to ascetic exercises and his study. Just because he wanders about and meets all kinds of people, he needs admonitions about the dangers which life outside the monastery involves.

Now when the "place in life" of this writing is clear, that it was written to a monk who had renounced monastic life for itinerant ascetic life, light is thrown on several problems, e.g. that it is no ordinary letter, but an edifying exhortation. Apart from the heading and the first part of the introductory passage 1.4-11, which may well give the impression of having been spoken to an absent person, there is little or nothing of the character of a letter about the writing. Naturally it may be asked why the author retains the term ^o*eḡarētā*. The nearest explanation is that the author sees his letter in the light of the New Testament tradition: This is a letter in the same meaning as, for instance, the Epistle of the Hebrews. It was probably not sent. Most probably the author gave his writing to the departing Brother for him to bring with him on the way and take it out and meditate over it when on his wanderings he came to a quiet monastery 9.8 f. As it is an edifying writing, it is natural that it is dominated by exhortation, encouragement and warning and that these succeed each other all through the text: "My Beloved, detach your soul from the detrimental ties of this temporary dwelling filled as it is with unchastity and disaster. Attach yourself with all your soul and force and understanding to the love of Christ, for all that is here, will perish, and man shall meet God's judgement. Take care of your soul, my Brother, let death be pictured before your eyes, and do not neglect the salvation of your soul" 5.10 ff. This exhortation and sermon style belongs to the monasteries both during the divine service gatherings and in con-

nection with the care of souls among the monks, especially towards those who for a time had chosen to live as *ihīdāyē*. Naturally the contents are somewhat different from, for example, those of the sermons of Afrem, which were intended for a broader public, ordinary people who from natural causes were prevented from adopting the severe life of *ihīdāyē*.

2. The cosmologic and anthropologic ideas are very simple. As collective term for existence as a whole he uses the word *kōl*, "the whole" 13.21. This is a creation of God's, *bērītā*: "Through his wise tokens He created all creation, the one up there and the one down there" 10.2 f cp. 4.11. There is no indication of a relinquishment of this idea in favour of emanation ideas, such as we know from other mystic systems. However, the most frequent term he uses about the world, is *ʿālmā* 1.12 4.4 f 4.11 5.6 f 5.11 5.23 6.13 6.17 7.4 11.4 11.9 f. With this he thinks particularly of the earth or earthly existence, on one occasion more particularly of the god-hostile men 9.9. He has the usual trichotomy of existence into heaven, earth and hell. "Heaven", *šəmayyā*, is not used, but he speaks about heavenly things, *šəmaynyātā* 12.3, and heavenly dwellings, *kenšē šəmayyānē* 15.6. Heaven then is thought to be "up there", *lēʿel*, while the earth is "down there", *lētaht* 10.3. Whenever he wants to emphasise especially the perishableness of the earth, he calls it *ʿarʿā*. Human limbs are, he says, *haddāmē dēḥarʿā*, "limbs we have on earth" 4.20 f cp. 8.20 f 12.2. In similar connections he uses the biblical "dust", *ʿafṛā* 11.23 cp. 12.1 etc. His term for hell is *gēhannā* 9.14 14.23 or "torturing fire", *nūrā dēṭaš-nīqā*, further: "the eternal fire", *nūrā dalʿālam* 13.20 or "fire flames", *galllē dēnūrā* 7.20. Gehenna and its fire is "on the other side", *tammān* 7.20. There is nothing to show clearly that he has thought this place of punishment to be under the earth. He evidently represents the tradition that has its origin in the late-Jewish writings, for example the Henoah book, where the place of punishment is somewhere on the way to heaven.

God, *ʿallāhā*, has his dwelling in heaven, "on high", *rawmā* 14.17. Also the Spirit, *rūḥā*, has its home there, for "all that is of Spirit, will be lifted up again" 12.1. In the heavenly dwellings is Christ, *mēšīḥā*, *māran* 15.6, and heaven is the home of angels, the seraphs and the cherubs 14.23 ff. On the earth live, besides human beings,

also demons, *šēdē* 2.9 13.9, and *Gehenna* is governed by a punishing angel, *ʿattirā* 9.14 cp. Mandeic Uthra.

Abraham bar Dashandad's view of the world is dualistic. Everything in the material world of man is perishable, false and contemptible: "This world shall disappear like a shadow" 5.6 f. The world has an "end", *harēṭā* 5.23. It is a "dwelling of time", *ʿumrā dēzabnā* 5.11 cp. 4.4 7.4 11.4, it is a "road", *ʿurhā*, from which man must escape 11.9 f. The world is treacherous, *daggālā*, and leads men astray 12.7 f 1.12. Therefore everything we can see, is worth only contempt 11.22 12.14. He speaks with deep contempt of *ʿālmā hānā*, "this world" 6.13 6.17 7.4. Opposed to this is the "world beyond", *haw ʿālmā* 9.10 f or as is also said: "the new world", *ʿālmā ḥaddiṭā* 13.10. This latter term certainly also comprises the idea of a newly created finality world, although this idea does not seem to play a part elsewhere in the letter. In his mind is on the whole the contrast between the imperishable world of God and the perishable world of man, and the latter is, as mentioned above, not only perishable, but downright evil, and leads men into disaster and destruction.

Corresponding to this cosmic dualism, is the dualism in each separate human being, that between body and soul. Man has a body, *gušmā* 7.22, *paḡrā* 2.19 3.12 9.2. This body has a strong natural desire 6.10 f, bodily needs, which have a hampering influence, are even downright detrimental to a godly life 3.9 ff 14.11 ff. This body "goes to its own destruction", *laḥdānā šāreḵ* 9.2. It becomes dust 8.23 f. Noteworthy is what he says in 3.11 ff: "Reject dealings with man, as they lead your soul to destruction, stain your heart, lead astray your body, impair all your senses in the service of God, and engender and beget error." He speaks of "beguilers of the body", *maṭʿēyānē dēpaḡrā*. In his opinion not only the soul but also the body can be led astray. Thus the body is not evil on principle, but has only the immanent possibility of becoming evil. In other words the author has no principle of dualism. The world, creation, is not evil in itself, but evil because it prevents the soul from its life in God. This is noteworthy because the author evidently also knew the absolute dualism between light and dark. Naturally he had ample opportunity of hearing about it in Parsee circles. He betrays knowledge of the Persian light: darkness idea by warning against "those who are slaving for darkness", *ʿaḥdē dēḥeššōkā* 15.7 f. Abraham bar Dashandad cannot be said

to be a mystic with an especially intellectual orientation. He makes no attempt at any profound study of dualism. He lives entirely in the ecclesiastical tradition. The Gospel of St. John for instance, does not know of any principle of dualism. The world becomes evil through its attitude to Christ. The division occurs with the entrance of Logos into the world and man's choice.

Where the spiritual side of man is concerned, the author uses several terms, thus: "heart", *lebbā* 2.20 3.2 3.12 4.22 and "mind" or "inner life", *tarṣītā* 2.16 2.19 3.20 4.22 8.12, but the main word is *naḥšā*, "soul". The soul is the body's contrast 13.11 and has a heavenly origin: "Blessed is the Brother who despises everything that can be seen, but cares for his soul. All that is of earth, again becomes earth, but all that is of Spirit, is again lifted up" 11.22ff. The aim of the soul is redemption from the ties that keep it back on earth 5.10 f. While down here, it suffers from being separated from God 13.1 ff. It is a "force", *ḥaylā* 5.12 f, life proper in man 7.7. It is independent. Man can make it the object of a closer examination and consideration 8.14. It has its own eyes and looks on the world with them 8.18. It is the most precious treasure of man 11.3, "more worth than the whole world and everything that is in it" 11.17 ff. It alone shall remain when the earth perishes 13.6 f.

3. It is clear that the author retains the essence of the Christian eschatology. He, too, takes for granted a kingdom to come. For he speaks of "the children of the kingdom", *bēnay malkūtā*, in contrast to "the children of the world", *bēnay ʿālmā* 9.10, of the "new world", *ʿālmā ḥadditā* 13.10, and the "heavenly things", *šēmaynyātā* 12.3, to which man has been called. On one occasion he speaks of "the reward of good deeds", *purʿānā daʿēbādē* 14.21 f and describes life's aim as "the dwelling of the Spirit", *ʿawwānā dērūh* 3.15. He also retains the picture of the future kingdom as a feast together with those who have passed away, or as a wedding between Christ and his flock: "Remember that you are the Son of God, a brother of Him whom the Father loves, one who shares the lot of the disciples, a joint-heir with the martyrs, a table companion with those who profess, one who shares the lot of the holy men, with a seat at the table of the prophets, sharing the joy of the just and the glory of the angels, a companion of the seraphs, a table companion of the cherubs, sharing the life of Christ our Lord a guest at the wedding feast of the Only Begotten,

one with a place in the dwellings of the heavenly flock, an inhabitant of Jerusalem" 14.23 ff. To this positive characterization corresponds the description of the negative lot, the day of judgement and the torments of Gehenna. Men are mentioned who have not God's judgement, *dīneh dallāhā* in mind 5.22 f, furthermore is mentioned "the mighty judgement", *dīnā ʿazzizā*, man in its time will have to face 10.19 f, a judgement as inevitable as death 11.11 f. In connection with Gehenna he mentions the torment, *šūnāqā* 9.14, eternal fire 13.20 and weeping 14.23. Salvation means rescue, *purqānā*, from all this 5.16 f 7.14 f.

Like the classical Christian sources Abraham bar Dashandad also uses the more spiritualized term "life" or "eternal life" to characterize salvation. He speaks of inheriting or gaining "eternal life", *ḥayyē dalʿālam* 7.11 5.6 and of this eternal life as man's final destination 2.3 14.2. Eternal life is above all characterized through its contrast with "time-bound life", *ḥayyē dēzabnā*: "He who wants eternal life must renounce timebound life" 14.2. The eschatology is clear enough, and we ask ourselves if there really is anything in the description of the eschatologic salvation betraying a mystic. The terms "rapture" and "bliss" alone may be said to indicate this: "If you please Christ by what you do, you shall live in rapture, *nēyāḥā*, here and bliss, *bussāmā*, in the hereafter" 11.12 f. Both these words taste of mysticism and seem to express the very essence of the salvation experience of the author.

These mystic-ringing formulas lead us into his description of salvation as something present, something already in one's possession. The author does not emphasise particularly any description of the gloomy background against which life in God is portrayed. There are certainly two forms of life, life in God and life in "complete separation from God", *puršānā gēmīrā dēmen ʿallāhā* 2.9 f, but it is life in God that wholly occupies his mind. This is natural because the author addresses a confirmed Christian. To a Christian this world does not mean a real temptation, but it means a hindrance for the expansion of a true life with God, no temptation. In contrast with life separated from God, life in God is "the true one", "real life", *ḥayyē šarrīrē* 6.2 f. It is in this description of life in God that the truly mystic character of the salvation teaching in our author is distinct. Let us take as our starting-point the following highly characteristic phrase:

"Remember that you are the Son of God, and a brother of Him whom the Father loves" 14.23 f. The frase *bērā dallāhā*, the Son of God, can of course, be interpreted in somewhat different ways. This may only mean that man's relation to God is that of a son, but such an interpretation is hardly appropriate here in our place owing to the parallel with Christ: "You are the brother, *ʾaḥā*, of Him whom the Father loves." Thus the person addressed, is equalled with Christ himself. He is son in the same meaning as Christ is. Only a mystic can say so. Behind this address we discern the peculiar, strong experience of the unity with Christ, which is so characteristic of the mystic. These are words which can only be used by one who has lived through rapture and, at the time of rapture, has reached beyond man's limitation. Several places in the author's work make it clear that he has been familiar with this phenomenon, and thus may have had his choice of words determined by personal experience of this kind: "If you flee from intercourse with men, Christ will remain in you and your mind rejoice in God," *rawzā tarʿiṭāk ballāhā* 2.16. The rejoicing in God is the promise resulting from life with Christ. It is the climax of Christian life, the moment which spreads a veil of happiness over earthly existence. The author also speaks of "sweet love", *ḥalyūtā dēhubbā*, which occurs when natural desire has been silenced 6.9 ff. When he mentions "eternal happiness", *bussāmā dalʿālam* 3.10 f, he certainly thinks of the condition belonging to endtime, but this, he says, is already anticipated during life on earth: "Also in this world you shall live in great rapture", *waf hārkā banʿyāḥā rabbā hāwē ʾat* 7.11 f. Rapture during life on earth is thus a foretaste of eternal happiness in the kingdom of God.

The possession of salvation is also characterized as the living in man by God, Christ or the Spirit: "I pray to God who dwells in you", *ʿāmar bāk* 1.5 f cp. 2.6 2.18. "May Christ our Lord dwell in you" 1.7 cp. 2.16. "Dear Brother, be reticent in your conversation and intercourse with men, so that you do not destroy the peace of your hearth, and weaken and tire the Spirit, that dwells in you" 1.17 ff. However, in none of the above quotations is there a terminological usage of terms for a mystic experience. The terms which are used, are relatively wide and, above all, of varying values, but there can be no doubt that the author uses them to give expression to an experience in God of a mystic nature, and then to both the special experience which

carries the life of the mystic and gives colour to his stile on the whole, and the general, daily feeling of living in a sphere of joy and delight, a feeling which usually accompanies a life in strict asceticism.

Thus, after what we have seen, the present salvation becomes first and foremost a salvation to something, to a society with God and Christ. But at the same time it is also a salvation from something, from the world and every thing that binds man's soul to earthly existence. Christ redeems man from the world and destroys his earthly limbs 4.19 ff. "But you, Beloved, extricate your soul from the detrimental ties to this temporary dwelling" 5.10 f. This is a typically mystic idea: the soul being bound to matter, but shall be redeemed so that it can return to its true home. Salvation is the redemption of the soul, a redemption that begins now and here, but can be accomplished only after the death of the body, a death which also commences while man is alive. In our author this work of redemption is partly accomplished by man himself, partly by Christ. Christ is the "destroyer", *ʔamūt*, of man's limbs 4.20, as, at the same time, man himself "detaches", *šērā*, the soul from the ties 5.10 f. The purely mystic self-salvation is connected with the Christian idea of salvation through Christ.

4. In Abraham bar Dashandad as in all mystically orientated persons, the idea of the "road" dominates the mind. It can be said that to him the "road" to redemption and salvation falls into four stages, namely: flight from the world, asceticism, concentration and meditation. The flight from the world plays a great part in the letter. This corresponds to the fact that it is determined for a *ihūdāyā*. There is particularly one term which recurs again and again in this connection namely *ʿenyānā*, "intercourse", "going together". It is used particularly in warnings against intercourse with men. "Beware of idleness and intercourse with men", *ʿenyānā dēʿam nāšā* 2.22 f. "Do not have intercourse with men," *wēʿenyānā ʿam nāšā lā teʿbed* 3.6 f. "Beware of intercourse with men who are in body", *ʔezdahar men ʿenyānā dēʿam bēnaynāšā pagrānāyē* 12.23 f cp. 1.17 f 2.15 3.4 6.3 6.14 8.7 ff. As already mentioned, these warnings have only a meaning when the person addressed can be together with other men. The idea is then that he shall separate deliberately from fellow men, have as little as possible to do with them. The word *ʿenyānā* may also mean "conversation", thus *ʿenyānā dēmellē* 1.17 f and *ʿenyānīn* in 8.7. For inter-

course and conversation with men are highly dangerous. They darken the mind 3.4 and are “empty”, *səfīqē* 6.3. However, the flight from the world does not mean that he shall abstain from all kinds of work and devote himself to complete inactivity, on the contrary: “Love all kinds of work”, *rəḥam ʿamlē* 3.14. Inactivity implies danger too. Active work with men should be avoided: “O Beloved, if you seek the whole truth, do not work with men”, *lā neḥwē lāḳ ʿəḥādā ʿam nāšā* 1.20 f. It is probable that the author thinks of a very special form of work, namely teaching. This seems evident from the fact that he considers all learning as something rejectable and dangerous 15.13 ff. The flight from the world naturally involves repudiation of all the good things of life. Gluttony, *sabʿūtā dēḳarsā* 1.16 is just as unthinkable to a *ihīdāyā* as purity of life is a matter of course: “I beseech you in the name of Christ to keep your body in chastity and your mind in purity, so that your heart may rejoice in God” 2.18 ff.

If the flight from the world is to have any importance, it must be followed by asceticism, *dubbārā*. It is a decisive step on the way: “See to it, my most Beloved, that you perform your ascetic exercises, *dubbārāyk*, are severe and careful in the execution of them, so that you attain eternal life” 5.4 ff. Asceticism must not be casual, but systematic and accompanied by fixed habits: “For without good ascetic exercises, *dubbārē šappīrē*, and fixed habits, *ʿeyāḏē taqnē*, it is not possible for anyone to be regarded as virtuous and worthy of becoming a dwelling for God” 2.4 ff. The ascetic exercises requires an intense fulfilment: “Grant me to be active in love to you, so that I do not tire you with laxity in my asceticism”, *bərafyūt dubbāray* 8.5 f. Asceticism redeems the soul: “Let us help our soul with spiritual asceticism”, *naḥtar nafšan bēdubbārē rūḥānāyē* 14.4. A life without asceticism ends in dismay: “Woe to him who neglects his asceticism, for when he must depart, grave sorrow will fall upon him” 4.11 ff. An ascetic life, on the other hand, opens the road to God’s kingdom: “Adorn yourself with good ascetic exercises, and enter into the joy of thy Lord” 7.15 f. One aspect of the author’s view of ascetic life is particularly interesting, namely his characterization of it as the asceticism of the angels: “It is a great disaster and such a dreadful thing that it cannot be mentioned, that we practise this asceticism of the angels, *dubbārē dēmalāḳē*, carelessly and as may seem suitable to

us for the moment" 10.22 ff. Thus ascetic life is a foretaste of life in God's kingdom.

A detailed account of all the separate exercises which asceticism comprised, would have been of great interest. The author, however, confines himself to some few, thus fasts, weeping and vigils. About the first one he says: "Love fast, *ṣawmā*, and refrain from intercourse with men" 3.20 f. But it is important that fasts, like vigils, are practised sensibly: "Be moderate in vigil and sensible in fast", *nehwē šahrāk bamēšūhētā wēṣawmā bēnakpūtā* 2.20 f. Too much sleep, however, is a dangerous enemy of life with God. Life ought to be lived awake: "Blessed is he who has not been sleeping, *nām*, during his voyage to the harbour where he must disembark" 10.17 f. Here we may say that the author touches upon Plotin's idea that man sleeps through life and is awake only during his meeting with God, IV. Ennead, 8. book.

Weeping is obviously also one of the fixed habits: "Do not let the tears, *dem^cē*, from your eyes cease" 3.5. Weeping removes stains on the soul 7.19, therefore supplication must be done with a sorrowful mind, *hēnīgā'ūt* 15.17.

Also prayer, penance and recital of psalms must be mentioned in this connection. "Do not cease from worship, *seḡdētā*, prostration, *gurgāhā*, sighs, *tenhātā*, mournings, *nehmātā*, supplications, *taḡšš-fātā*, wishes, *bā^cwātā*, prayers, *ṣalwātā*, and hymns, *tešbēhātā*, as long as there is power in you, and you are living in this mortal, perishable and changeable life" 6.20 ff. Spontaneous prayer and supplication cannot very well be characterized as asceticism. It is different when the life of prayer is organized, regulated so that we can speak of regular exercises and prayers, and fixed prayer hours, with which the author seems to be familiar and refer to with the term: *ēyādē taqnē*, "fixed habits" 2.5. Penance, *tēyābūtā*, is naturally connected with prayer 7.22.

The division of the "road" into four stages: flight from the world, asceticism, concentration and meditation, does naturally not mean that the different "stages" are distinctly separated from each other. Here, as always in the mystics, these conditions overlap. Viewed from one angle prayer is concentration, from another it is meditation. Yet such a schematic division into stages is useful, this so much the more as it corresponds to the author's personal opinion. For, in addition to flight from the world and asceticism, he speaks also of concentration

and meditation. Concentration is first and foremost a collection of the mind, a deliberate rejection of certain thoughts and a deliberate attempt at gathering the mind on a clearly defined idea: "When you stand before God in prayer, collect your thought, *kěnoš re^cyānāk*, away from the empty distraction of this restless world" 6.6 f. During this condition the world must be renounced and a direct hostile attitude towards it and one's own self adopted: "He who wishes to possess eternal life, must renounce temporal life" 14.2. "I beseech Thee, O Lord, to make me hate my life for the sake of love to you" 8.2 f. Concentration involves the disappearance from consciousness of everything in this world: "Thou my Lord, grant me to obliterate all intercourse, all memories, all thoughts and all ideas which do not conform with the love to Thee, O Christ of all" 8.7 ff.

One part of the concentration exercises is the study of the Holy Writ and the recitation of psalms. "Persevere in the study of the Holy Writ", *běqeryānā dakēṭābē qaddišē* 10.6 f, cp. 2.17 11.15 f 14.19 f 1.9. As the author flatly warns against teaching, the study of the Bible is wholly in the service of the concentration: "Read in silence by yourself so that Christ may impart wisdom to you, and not in the company of men so that your mind is obscured by intercourse" 3.2 ff. About the recitation of psalms he says: "O Beloved of my soul, never cease to recite psalms, *mazmūrā*, or let prayers arise from your heart" 8.10. "Be diligent in the recitation of psalms and prayer" 11.16. According to Dadisho Katraya the recitation of psalms was a widespread practice among Syrian monks to produce ecstasy.⁶ The author has obviously inculcated the same practice.

The last stage on the "road" is meditation, *renyā* 15.10, *hergā* 13.14. "Let your heart dwell, *nehroḡ*, in God, and your mind in Christ" 4.22 f. "Meditate on these things, and dwell on them in your thought" *běhēn rēnī wabhēn hērōḡ* 8.9 f. Meditation is a submersion in God or Christ or in salvation itself: "Meditate, *ṛethaggā*, always upon the new world" 13.10. It is an elevation of the eye of thought towards God 14.3 f, a circulation about Him: "Do not neglect the meditation about God, *renyēh dallāhā*, in your heart" 14.18. Characteristic of this meditative condition is a complete self-abandonnement, accompanied by a total isolation from the world. It ends in the love-meeting with

6) MINGANA, *op. cit.* p. 101.

God. "Indeed there is nothing more valuable than the love of God which is acquired when the soul disappears in the denying of the world and all that is in it " 11.18 ff. "The disappearance of the soul", ʿaḥdānā dēnafšā, hardly refers to any disappearance in God, a dissolution in God, but to the renunciation of all egocentricity. When in one place there is talk of finding "pearls", *marganyātā*, and "precious stones", *kēfē tāḥātā*, on the road of life, as fruits of good meditation, *hergā šēḥīhā*, it is natural to think that the author alludes to the rich glimpses of the experience which from time to time meditation gives to him who devotes himself to it. Here, as often elsewhere, the author is reticent in his description. But he speaks to a man who knows the mystic phenomenon from personal experience. Such a man understands his allusions and easily interprets his obscure words. Every mystic knows, so also Abraham bar Dashandad, that the meditative concentration ends in the stillness of contemplation, although he is rather silent about it. However, a brief remark about silence betrays his familiarity also with this phenomenon: "Silence finds God", *šetqā lallāhā meškāh* 1.22.

ANCIENT INDIAN KINGSHIP FROM THE RELIGIOUS POINT OF VIEW

(continued and ended*)

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XIX

As narrated in later texts mankind became sorely afflicted when the gods at the end of the Kṛtayuga or 'Golden Age' withdrew to heaven. It was then that king Pṛthu (lit. "the Broad One"), the first of men who was installed as a king, attacked the earth with his bow in order to level her (notice this detail: in every Manu-period the earth becomes uneven, but the first king removes the rocks, enlarges the hills and the mountains and makes the earth even) and to establish order upon her. But she changed her shape into that of a cow, ran away, and took refuge with Brahmā. This highest divinity thereupon mediated between them, making Pṛthu the protector of the earth, and inducing her to yield to him the crops and the sites for building abodes for men and gods ⁶⁵³). Now the errant state of the earth has come to an end. She exists protected by law and order, for Pṛthu's prototype is Yama, the Dharmarāja himself; she has become a place of abode for the gods. The belief is held that from this first king the earth received her name *pṛthivī*. The Mahābhārata says ⁶⁵⁴): "because it was expected that he would increase (advance, "make wider" *prathaiṣyati*) he was, accordingly called Pṛthu.

The relation of the ruler to the earth or the soil is also expressed by the title *pārthiva-* which occurring in the sense of "inhabitant of the

*) See *Numen* III/1956, p. 36 ff. and p. 122 ff. and *Numen* IV/1957, p. 24 ff.

653) Thus the Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra I, 6 ff.; 6, 5 ff.; 7, 7 ff.; cf. also Viṣṇu Pur. I, a. 13. See also S. KRAMRSCH, *The Hindu Temple*, Calcutta 1946, p. 13.

654) Mbh. 12, 29, 138. In 12, 54, 126 it however reads: *prathitā dharmatāś ceyam pṛthivī bahubhiḥ smṛtā*.

earth" as early as the Ṛgveda, appears to denote a king in Manu and the Mahābhārata ⁶⁵⁵). In a simile occurring in a Buddhist work ⁶⁵⁶) the whole great earth has become the deposits or property of a king who is properly anointed, belongs to a family of noble birth and has the highest power.

Now it is clear that those beings and entities which expand or extend, which are wide and broad themselves, may easily be supposed to be able to place something at the disposal of others, to give part of their abundance. Such passages as the Atharvānic "let the earth increase and make us increase" ⁶⁵⁷) are significant. According to the belief expressed by a Vedic poet ⁶⁵⁸) the gods placed the earth (*māhim* lit. "the great one") as a support which gives space or room (*uruṣā*), and is a broad expanse (*uru jrayaḥ*). From other passages it can be understood that it was Viṣṇu who gave man spacious room to live in ⁶⁵⁹). An epithet like *uruvyacas-* "widely extending" not only applies to heaven and earth, but also to Indra, and other compounds beginning with *uru-* are used to qualify Varuṇa, Soma, Pūṣan, and again, Indra, who is also called *urujrayas-* "extending over a wide space".

A remarkable passage is also found in the hymn to the earth in the Atharvaveda ⁶⁶⁰): "when thou, spreading thyself (*prathamānā*), told by the gods, didst expand (*vyasarpas*) to greatness, then well-being (*subhūtam*) entered into thee"; breadth and expansion result in well-being. Thus a verb *uruṣyati* deriving from *uru-* "broad" not only means "to go to what is broad", i.e. "make off", but also "to protect, secure, defend from": ṚV. 1, 58, 8 and 9 Agni is invoked to protect (*u.*) the poet against "narrowness", i.e. "distress" (*aṃhas*); 2, 26, 4 Brahmanaspati is said to protect against distress (the same words) and to ward off injury (*raṅṣati riṣaḥ*). An interesting phrase is also

655) In this connection there may be room for the observation that Indian authors endeavoured to establish subtle differences between these titles. Thus *pārthiva-* expresses relations between the ruler and his own country, *sārva-bhauma-* applies to a conqueror of the earth etc.

656) Milindapañho, p. 360 T.

657) Atharvaveda 12, 1, 13; 18.

658) RV. 5, 44, 6.

659) RV. 7, 100, 4.

660) AV. 12, 1, 55.

amhós sid ... urucákriḥ ⁶⁶¹), lit. "effecting broadness even from narrowness", that is "granting ample assistance even in getting rid of distress". The adverbial *uruṣyā* means "granting broadness, protecting, rescuing", it combines with *pāyu-* "guard, protector" ⁶⁶²).

Verbs, originally meaning "to extend, spread, or penetrate" not infrequently assumed the sense of "filling with, bestowing upon" on the one hand and that of "being light, illustrious, illuminating" on the other ⁶⁶³). Thus e.g. *tanoti* and *ā-tanoti*, the former of which is RV. 3, 6, 5 used in the meaning of "to fill whilst penetrating": *táva krátvā ródasī ā tatantha* "mit deiner Einsicht hast du beide Welten durchzogen" ⁶⁶⁴) and elsewhere in that of "to spread or extend light", even, as e.g. 4, 5, 13 without an explicit object. The verb *prath-* "to become larger or wider, to spread, extend" also served to express the idea of "to extend over", with the implication of "to shine upon, to give light to" (caus. stem): 3, 14, 4 (Agni) the sun is subject—here Geldner ⁶⁶⁵) rightly observes that in the eyes of Vedic man light is width, darkness, narrowness—, and also "to become celebrated", the substantive *prathā* meaning, inter alia, "fame, celebrity" ⁶⁶⁶).

It does not seem to have been noticed that the idea of room, wide-ness or spatial extensiveness sometimes crops up in those passages which deal with sovereignty. In an Atharvānic text which is to be recited for the benefit of a king who wishes to be restored to his former kingdom ⁶⁶⁷), the god Agni is invoked to bend apart (*vyacasva*) widely extending heaven and earth and to lead the royal man who bestows the oblation. The prince himself is requested to come from the furthest distance, the prosperous roads making wide room for him.

Whatever were the thoughts aroused by the epic bards in their listeners when they added to the name of a king such epithets as

661) RV. 2, 26, 4; 5, 67, 4; 8, 18, 5. Cf. also 4, 55, 5 etc.

662) RV. 6, 44, 7.

663) One might also refer to passages such as Chānd. Up. 4, 5, 2 f.: he who knows brahman's quarter which is *prakāśavān* "manifest, expanded" and meditates on it, becomes *prakāśavān* "shining, illustrious" in this world.

664) K. F. GELDNER, *Der Rig-Veda*, I, Harvard 1951, p. 342.

665) GELDNER, *o.c.*, p. 351.

666) It may be remembered that the "going apart" of heaven and earth is conducive to welfare and prosperity; see e.g. AV. 3, 31, 4.

667) Atharvaveda 3, 3, 1; cf. Kauśika-sūtra 16, 30 ff.

dīrghabāhu- or *mahābāhu-*⁶⁶⁸), that the original sense of these adjectives—mention of which has already been made— cannot be disconnected from the conceptions under discussion is, to my mind, beyond any doubt. Modern interpretations have wavered between a ‘metaphorical’: “who rules a large kingdom” and the literal “long-armed”. In favour of the latter explanation reference might be made to the ‘ideal’ character of a great part of the ancient Indian literature; the poets like to picture their subjects as typical instances of “the hero” (who is valiant), “the princess” (who is lovely and beautiful) etc., their “king” being, of course, a sturdy man. But the very predilection for these and similar epithets and the emphasis laid on the king’s robust figure show that the long arms like the broad chest were believed to be essential in a king who came up to the ideal standard. So the “long arms” may be held to point to the ruler’s ability to protect a large number of people by his physical strength and to enforce his sway over an extensive territory. It is important to notice that the Persians gave the same epithet, not only to their rulers (cf. Artaxerxes *μακρόχειρ*), but also to Zarathustra⁶⁶⁹), their spiritual leader par excellence. What could be the implications of the long arms extended to protect and bless may also appear from a Vedic verse, addressed to Mitra and Varuṇa, gods who, as we have seen, are also called “kings”⁶⁷⁰): “Stretch out your arms that we may live”. Special attention must in this connection be drawn to a feature in the ritual of the royal consecration: the monarch receives the unction with raised arms, whilst standing on the throne which, as has already been observed, represents the navel or centre of the universe. From the stanzas accompanying this act we may conclude that he at this occasion represents the axis mundi. He is the pivot of the universe, the very road along which the blessings of heaven reach the earth. Here the ancient idea of the sacred king who stretches his arms has been made a part of and given a place in an elaborate and significant complex of rites. It is in this connection worthy of attention that in a text used

668) See *Numen*, 3/1956, 40.

669) Yašt. 17, 22 “you have such handsome calves and such long arms, to your body *hvarənah* is given.” Chr. BARTHOLOMAE, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, Strassburg 1904, 695 doubtless missed the point in his comment: “es galt das also für schön”.

670) RV. 7, 62, 5 = Vājas. S. 21, 9 etc. Cf. also RV. 2, 38, 2; 1, 113, 1 etc.

to restore a king all the quarters of the sky and all the five divine directions are invoked to call him back ⁶⁷¹).

In short, any authority working for the common good seems to have been credited with the faculty of making room and performing similar deeds. There is an interesting stanza in the *R̥gveda* (7, 33, 6) relating that the clans of the Tṛtsus "increased in breadth" (*apṛathanta*) when the famous sage Vasiṣṭha became their leader (*puraetā*).

XX

It seems therefore warranted to suppose that the idea of expansion in connection with royal power is not foreign to the 'symbolism' of the *Aśvamedha* either. This horse sacrifice, which no doubt was one of the most ancient and important religious ceremonies and by which the monarch ratified his claim to suzerainty over his neighbours, was only performed by those rulers whose strength, power and wealth justified such an ambitious undertaking. The benefits of the sacrifice were extension of the empire, general increase of strength, undisputed power, success in new enterprises, etc. Both the pretensions of the king who undertook the sacrifice and the results throw, it would appear to the present author, light upon one of its main characteristics: the fact that the horse was allowed to roam at its own will for a whole year ⁶⁷²). Without entering into a discussion of the meaning and the original force of this famous sacrifice, which have given rise to a variety of opinions ⁶⁷³), there may be room for the observation that the horse, when set free, is to wander into the north-eastern direction, the quarter of 'invincibility' i.e. victory, where is the door of heaven and where victory is gained ⁶⁷⁴), that the king who has the sacrifice performed after his consecration (*dikṣā*) is to be celebrated together with the gods, or even with Prajāpati, the creator-god, whose

671) *Atharvaveda* 3, 4, 1; 2. Cf. also 6, 88, 3.

672) For the horse sacrifice: HILLEBRANDT, *Ritualliteratur*, p. 149 ff.; KEITH, *Rel. u. Phil.*, p. 343 ff.; P. E. DUMONT, *L'Aśvamedha*, Baltimore 1927; MEYER, *Trilogie* III, p. 237 ff.

673) See also W. KOPPERS, *Pferdeopfer und Pferdekult der Indogermanen*, in the *Wiener Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte* 4, Salzburg-Leipzig 1936, p. 282 ff.; S. BHAWE, *Die Yajus' des Aśvamedha*, Stuttgart 1939; W. KIRFEL, *Der Aśvamedha und der Puruṣamedha*, in the *Festschrift Schubring* (1951), p. 39 ff.

674) Cf. e.g. *Ait. Br.* 1, 14; V. HENRY, *La magie dans l'Inde antique*, Paris 1904, p. 46.

relations with kingship have already been commented upon, that the horse is identified with the world, that it is directed to go to Agni Vaiśvānara the extending ⁶⁷⁵) (*agnim vaiśvānaram saprathasam*), that it is explicitly offered to all gods, i.e. to all the powers in the universe ⁶⁷⁶) and to Prajāpati, with whom the sacrifice is identified ⁶⁷⁷). It may further be argued that the horse is a representative of royal power or dominion (*kṣatra-*) ⁶⁷⁸). Both the horse and the king have for a year to abstain from sexual intercourse, no doubt in order to enhance their potency ⁶⁷⁹). In harmony with these facts is that the animal is identified with Yama, Āditya (the sun), Soma ⁶⁸⁰), kings among the gods. The objects pursued by the horse sacrifice as described in the Ṛgveda are cows ⁶⁸¹), horses, sons and all-nourishing possessions, and in addition to these ritual and moral purity (*anā-gastvam*) and dominion ⁶⁸²). That means, from the point of view of an ancient Indian prince, in short: unqualified welfare. Oldenberg ⁶⁸³) was, moreover, no doubt right in observing that the whole country was by the roaming horse brought into contact with the divine power inherent in the animal. Since, moreover, the circumambulation of a territory is a means of asserting ownership of it, the roaming of

675) Taittirīya-saṃhitā 7, 1, 11 c; Āpastamba-śr. 20, 3, 5.

676) Cf. Rāmāyaṇa (Beng. rec.) 1, 32, 32 *vaiśvadevika-*, and H. OLDENBERG, *Die Religion des Veda*⁴, Stuttgart-Berlin 1923, p. 473.

677) Śat. Br. 13, 4, 1, 15.

678) OLDENBERG, *o.c.*, p. 474. Śat. Br. 13, 2, 2, 15. See also OLDENBERG, *o.c.*, p. 474, n. 1 and p. 428, 1. That there is a close association between the horse and the king also emerges from the fact that the mane of the horses in the kingdom must not be trimmed during the year after the king's inauguration when he is not allowed to cut his hair himself (cf. Lāṭyāyana-śrautasūtra 9, 2, 18; 21).

679) For the king see HILLEBRANDT, *Ritualliteratur*, p. 149, and MEYER, *Tri-logie* III, p. 239.

680) Ṛgveda 1, 163, 3.

681) See Ṛgveda 1, 162, 22. The Ṛgvedic aśvamedha was of a more simple character than that described in the later texts.

682) These goods, wealth and dominion, often go together (see also *Aspects of early Viṣṇuism*, esp. p. 190 ff.). On various occasions different aspects of the general advantage of the horse sacrifice seem to have been emphasized. Thus Daśaratha in the Rāmāyaṇa (1. R. 8; 13 f.) has it exclusively performed because he is desirous of offspring. (Cf. also Jaiminiya-brāhmaṇa 2, 267). The aśvamedha in Mbh. 14 on the other hand serves to purify king Yudhiṣṭhira and the earth after the murderous war (cf. 14, 3, 5 ff.). By both sacrifices a disastrous state of affairs was to be brought to a conclusion, evil affecting the king and his realm was to be annihilated.

683) OLDENBERG, *l.c.*

the kingly animal no doubt had a similar significance: it was to assert the king's ownership.

The meaning of the sacrifice was also expressed otherwise⁶⁸⁴): it was in the beginning mystically "seen" (and hence instituted) by Prajāpati when he was desirous of offspring and cattle and when he wished to pervade (permeate, aver, extend to, over) the world (*vīmān lokān āpnuyām*), and to gain (exclusive) ownership of the heroic power which belongs especially to Indra (*indriyaṃ vīryam*). Anyone who wished to obtain the same results now should perform this sacrifice, for it is *vīryam* "heroic power". When they formerly performed it all was in possession of heroic power, the brahman became a mantra-making ṛṣi, the military man a "piercing hero", the vaiśya a wealthy and successful breeder and farmer; the women were pretty and faithful, the grain ripened without previous ploughing, there was no want of food, liquid was everywhere, etc. In the ritual texts the wish is pronounced that the king may, through the sacrificial horse, kill his enemy, be irresistible, be sovereign ruling a wealthy and prosperous people, and attain old age⁶⁸⁵). We might also recall to memory the beautiful blessings whispered by the adhvaryu priest to the brahman: "Let there be born in the kingdom a brahman illustrious for religious knowledge, a prince, heroic, skilled archer, piercing with shafts, mighty warrior; let the cow give abundant milk, the ox be good at carrying, the courser swift, the woman industrious. Let Parjanya send rain according to our desire; let our fruit-bearing plants ripen; may acquisition and preservation of property be secured to us." Besides, Indra is, by means of stanzas containing the words *vi mṛdhaḥ* "ward off, dispense" to scatter and subdue the enemies⁶⁸⁶). The *aśvamedha* is universal in character; being all, it serves to obtain all and to secure all⁶⁸⁷); it is a means of obtaining all desired objects, of attaining all attainments or success (*vyasṭīr vyaśnuvīya*)⁶⁸⁸). It is therefore not surprising to read that this kṣatriya's sacrifice⁶⁸⁹) is to

684) See Jaiminiya-brāhmaṇa 2, 267.

685) See Taittiriya-brāhmaṇa 3, 8, 5; Āpastamba-śrautasūtra 20, 4, 1 ff.

686) See Āpastamba śr. 20, 20, 7 and Caland's note. It may be added that the king who performs an *aśvamedha* is stated to overcome death: see Caland's note on Āp. śr. s. 20, 22, 9.

687) Śat. Br. 13, 4, 2, 2.

688) Śat. Br. 13, 4, 1, 1.

689) Śat. Br. 13, 4, 1, 2.

be executed by a king who pretends to be the sovereign of the entire earth ⁶⁹⁰).

It will be relevant to notice also that the horse is stated to be a courser born from the gods and a *vājin-* i.e. a "Siegesrosz", a container of *vāja-* "vigour" or, rather, a horse that generates, promotes, wins, secures, especially by racing ⁶⁹¹) and similar feats of vigour or heroism, a particular vital power called *vāja-* which, apart from securing victory, is often associated with vegetative life and growth in nature ⁶⁹²). The sacrificial horse which "went to be slaughtered" is explicitly called a courser possessed of *vāja-* (*vājy arvā*) ⁶⁹³). Now the most famous of the Ṛgvedic horses, Dadhikrā or Dadhikrāvan, is not only extolled as a hero ⁶⁹⁴), victorious, *vāja*-winning, and expected to generate as a true courser, running quickly and bird-like, refreshment, invigorating food, and heaven, strength and longevity ⁶⁹⁵), and to confer a state of holiness or divinity on those who praise it ⁶⁹⁶), this animal is also described as extending himself over the nations of mankind, and in this he resembles Sūrya (the Sun), pervading the water with his light ⁶⁹⁷); overpowering he pervades the inhabited countries. Besides, this horse is "heroic like a king" and the man who possesses and reveres it is sure to win land and fields ⁶⁹⁸). The same epithet is given to the sun when it is conceived as a steed. The heroes, wealthy men, potent male beings and persons paying the costs of the sacrifices are, on the other hand, also called *vājinaḥ* "possessors of *vāja-*", and the same adjective is often applied to Soma, Agni, Indra, Pūṣan (a deity interested in growth, wealth, well-being, and especially in the well-being of herds and flocks) and other gods.

Although we are not attempting to trace the origin of this rite and to attribute its various components to different influences the general

690) Āpast. Śr. 20, 1, 1 and Caland's note.

691) Cf. also Jaiminiya-brāhmaṇa 3, 192 "They run a race, in order to reach Prajāpati and to win the heavenly world".

692) See my *Aspects of early Viṣṇuism*, p. 44 ff.; 147.

693) Ṛgveda 1, 163, 12. The phrase is also found 4, 36, 6; 38, 10 etc.

694) Ṛgveda 4, 38-40; see also *Aspects of early Viṣṇuism*, p. 147 f.

695) Ṛgveda 4, 40, 2; cf. 39, 4; 6.

696) Cf. Ṛgveda 4, 39, 3; 6: remembering and praising the horse leads to purity ("sinlessness"; *anāgas-*); to "fragrance" (see D. J. HOENS, *Sānti*, Thesis Utrecht 1951, p. 62); to being in harmony with Mitra and Varuṇa.

697) Ṛgveda 4, 38, 10 ā... *tatāna* etc.; 9; cf. 10, 178, 3.

698) Cf. Ṛgveda 4, 38, 1.

impression we obtain from the above survey may in conclusion be said to be as follows: the horse as a representative of royal power or dominion—it has also various connections with Varuṇa ⁶⁹⁹)—accumulates by running and chastity, power, and in particular that special power which was given the name of *vāja*-, i.e. generative power conducive to life in nature and vegetation, which as a rule is attended by wealth, victory and similar much desired aims. By roaming about freely it was on the one hand to spread its divine power over the whole country and on the other to extend the rule and power of its king, or rather to establish it, to ratify his claims on overlordship, and at the same time to re-establish it and to reinvigorate it intrinsically, to place it among divine powers ⁷⁰⁰) what involves to strengthen the potency of kingship, to enhance welfare and fertility all over the country and the other natural consequences of prosperous sovereignty. The Aśvamedha therefore really was the most important manifestation of kingship.

As the Aśvamedha is the king of sacrifices ⁷⁰¹), and as on the other hand the sacrificer, i.e. the king, is identical with the aśvamedha, certain peculiarities of this ritual are stated to correspond to certain qualities of the king. Thus he is disposed to be “strong in arms”, because the front legs of two goats sacrificed during the aśvamedha are tied—“he thereby lays strength into the front legs” ⁷⁰²) and strong in thighs, for similar reasons. Before we leave this point we should call attention to an important statement made in the Viṣṇudharmottara-purāṇa ⁷⁰³). On every anniversary of the first ‘coronation’ the king should repeat the rites; this leads to welfare, to increase of the country, to the destruction of the enemies and so on. Then the ‘inauguration’ has become cyclic, annually carrying the ruler and his realm beyond a difficult stage, and recreating the beneficial power inherent in kingship.

The central and dominant position of the ruler is also illustrated by the incidental identification ⁷⁰⁴) of rulership or nobility with the

699) This has — in a rather one-sided manner, it is true, — been pointed out by MEYER, *Trilogie*, see III, p. 314.

700) See Rgveda I, 162, 14.

701) Śat. Br. 13, 2, 2, 1 ff.

702) Śat. Br. 13, 2, 2, 5.

703) Viṣṇudh. Pur. 2, a. 162.

704) Cf. Sat. Br. 8, 7, 2, 2; 9, 4, 3, 5. See also EGGELING, *o.c.* IV, p. 132.

lokaṃprṇā iṣṭakā, i.e. one of the bricks used for building the sacrificial altar and set up with the formula *lokaṃ prṇa* "fill the world": these bricks are therefore considered to fill the world, or to penetrate—like the ruler—everywhere. The kṣatriya is also called *aparimita*- i.e. "unlimited, unbounded" 705).

Coming now to a short note on the significance of the term *virāj*-, which is a very frequent title of a sovereign who "rules far and wide", we first quote some texts 706).

Virāj is not infrequently coupled with names of very high divine powers: A.V. 4, 11, 7 Indra, Agni, Prajāpati, Parameṣṭhin ("Supreme Being") 706), Virāj; 8, 5, 10 the same powers (*devāḥ*) and Viṣṇu, Savitar, Rudra, etc.; 11, 5, 7 the brahmacārin or Veda-student is described as generating brahman, the water, the world, Prajāpati, parameṣṭhin and Virāj. AV. 11, 5, 16 Prajāpati is related to "extend himself" or to "bear rule" (*vi-rāj*-), this Virāj becoming the controlling (*vaśin*-) Indra.

AV. 7, 84, 1 Agni is invoked to shine unassailable, 'immortal', being *virāj*- ("wide-spreading or -ruling") 708), bearing dominion (*kṣa-trabhrt*-).

In AV. 8, 9 and 10 *virāj*- is extolled as the first and creative principle. AV. 8, 9, 8 f. it is a very high power, existing in the highest firmament, being breathless, but going by the breath of breathing ones; it (or: she) touches everything; if it should fall, the sacrifices fall with it; it (she) goes unto *svarāj*- from behind.

AV. 8, 10, 1 Virāj is unequivocally identified with the universe: "V. was this (universe) in the beginning"; after having ascended and descended in various ritual fires (st. 2 ff.) etc. it (she) is said to stand striding (*vikrānta*-) in the atmosphere (st. 8). Thereupon the gods and men, convinced that she knows that upon which the members of both classes may subsist, and addressing her with names like Refreshment (*ūrjā*), Youthful vitality (*sūnṛtā*) etc., milk her—she

705) Ait. Br. 8, 20.

706) I also refer to L. RENOU, *Journal Asiatique* 240 (1952), p. 141 ff., and to my *Aspects of early Viṣṇuism*, p. 187 etc. The geographic distribution of the terms *virāj*, *saṃrāj* etc. which is taught by the ancient tradition need not detain us here.

707) *Parameṣṭhin*-, a "divinity" which is sometimes identified with Agni, sometimes with Prajāpati.

708) WHITNEY-LANMAN.

appears in the shape of a cow—; she yields herbs and waters, expansion (*vyacas*), and the sacrifice. From her ensuing migrations through the trees, the fathers, the gods, men, and from the account of her producing agriculture and grain, brahman and tapas and various other important entities, her universal and pervasive character distinctly emerges. From the at first sight paradox 8, 9, 7 “they call Virāj the father of Brahman” we may also conclude that she was conceived as the universe or, rather, as the ‘idea’ of expansiveness ‘before creation’.

What this signifies becomes also evident from a well-known stanza ⁷⁰⁹) where Virāj is said to have been born from the original Being or Puruṣa, who in his turn is born from Virāj. Here Virāj is the female principle of creation ⁷¹⁰). But when he was born, the Puruṣa was greater than the earth behind and in front. As is to be expected a priori, the female principle of creation was believed to be present in a young newly-married woman; in the Atharvaveda the bride is considered a *virāj-*, with good progeny, and as such she “has conquered or gained the victory” (*atyajaiṣīt*); another passage in the above collection of stanzas describing the *virāj-* runs as follows: “great might is in her; the young woman, the fruit-bearing generatrix, has gained the victory”. These texts probably shed light on a third passage: *śivā syonā patiloke vi rāja* which, though translated by Whitney and Lanman: “do thou, propitious, pleasant, bear rule in thy husband’s world”, may perhaps rather be taken to imply the sense of: “prove to be a worthy representative of the female principle of expansion, i.e. generation” or “spread thyself and be productive” ⁷¹¹).

But this is not all. Virāj also was the hypostatization of the conception of the universe as a totality. It is the all as the totality of things, the sum of all existence. “The body of the Virāj is made of the material objects in their aggregate. He is the manifested god whose senses are the directions, whose body is the five elements, and whose consciousness glows with the feeling “I am all” ⁷¹²). AV. 8, 9, 1 “whence were the two (young of the Virāj) born? out of what world? out of which earth?” points in the same direction.

709) RV. 10, 90, 5; cf. AV. 19, 6, 9.

710) Bṛhadār. Up. 4, 2, 3 Virāj is the female partner of Indra.

711) AV. 14, 2, 74; 8, 9, 11; 14, 1, 64.

712) See S. RADHAKRISHNAN, *Indian Philosophy*, I, London 1948, p. 171 f.

Here may especially be noticed the part played by the ideal first king Pṛthu or Pṛthī. In the above account of Virāj's migration he is completely put on a par with the other figures who milked her successively: when she came to the gods Savitar was the milker, when she came to the serpent, the serpent-king Dhṛtarāṣṭra, when she reached the fathers, Antaka (Death). The conclusion must be this that Pṛthī, who milked her when she came to men, is the representative of mankind in the same way as Death is the representative of all the deceased, as Kubera's son Rajatanābhi represents the 'spirits' (a class of supra-normal beings), and so on. He represents a province of the universe, a class of beings, to wit: mankind.

Accordingly, AV. 9, 10, 24 identifies Virāj with speech, the earth, the atmosphere, Prajāpati, and death; besides, he (for here the name is masculine) is the emperor of those who are accomplished; in his control are what was and what is to be (the author adding: "let him put in my control what was and what is to be"); 10, 7, 19 *virāj-* is called the udder of the frame of creation (*skambha-*), brahman being its mouth. This must anyhow mean: a very extensive source of nourishment. This trait is in harmony with the frequent identification of *virāj-* with food (*anna-*, *annādyā-*), emphasized by Renou⁷¹³). The *virāj-* is not only food, it is also *śrī-*⁷¹⁴). AV. 12, 3, 11 *virāj-* is identified with *dhruvā* "the fixed quarter", i.e. the 'point of the heavens' directly under the feet: we are reminded of 14, 2, 15 where the bride when made to stand firm on a stone is addressed as *virāj-*, whereas ŚB. 12, 6, 1, 40 and elsewhere⁷¹⁵) *virāj-* is identified with the earth; cf. also AV. 3, 17, 2. Hence also the connection between fixed quarter, *virāj-* and Viṣṇu alluded to in AV. 15, 14, 5, Viṣṇu being concerned with the axis mundi⁷¹⁶). AV. 13, 3, 5 it is spoken of as being set in the sun, together with Parameṣṭhin, Agni and others (see above). From 8, 9, 10 it appears that she is thought of as ordering or arranging, as striding, as being connected with seasons and dawns; from "that she is supposed to be the same that 'first shone forth' (*vi-vas-*)"; that she goes among "these other ones (fem.)", having entered (them); that greatness is in her, that she is a bride, a mother,

713) L. RENOU, *l.c.*; see also M. MAUSS, *Mélanges-Lévi*, Paris 1911, p. 333; GONDA, *Early Viṣṇuism*, p. 187.

714) For references *Early Viṣṇuism*, *l.c.*

715) Mbh. 12, 262, 41.

who has conquered. One can become the abode of *virāj-* and of all the gods and deities by “knowing thus”: AV. 15, 6, 8. AV. 9, 2, 5 the term under discussion is associated with Vāc “Speech” and a milk-cow, which is the daughter of Kāma, i.e. “Love”.

In later texts *virāj-* is also used in the sense of *kṣatriya-*, a member of the ruling class: e.g. in the Mahābhārata⁷¹⁷) where the commentator Nilakaṇṭha explains it by *virājamānaḥ*: the king meant is Purūravas. In illustration of the connotations implied in the term *virāj-* attention may also be drawn to a stanza in the Atharvaveda⁷¹⁸) where the upper beam of a house which is built is implored to be powerful (*ugra-*) and *virāj-*, driving off the enemies. This beam, like another *virāj-*, for instance a king by extending itself in a high position, protects the inhabitants of the house. That a mighty and protecting power was believed to be inherent in a *virāj-* may further appear from other passages in the same corpus: a special offering is invoked to bear rule widely in its own field, being free from disease⁷¹⁹). Among these who are said to bear that rule is Prajāpati; the *virāj-* also became the controlling Indra⁷²⁰), who elsewhere is such a mighty personality⁷²¹). He who *vi-rājati* frees from distress⁷²²). In the Ṛgveda the verb is not infrequently used, *inter alia* in the sense of “having the disposal of, caring for, guarding, ruling, prosecuting a profession, ranking above etc”.

Virāj may therefore be regarded as having been, in ancient times, a power of very high rank representing universal expansiveness, which involves: being powerful and creative, and producing food and refreshment. In the etymological explication given by Yāska⁷²³) this character is, to a certain extent, reflected: according to him the term *virāj-* derives from either *virājana-*, i.e. “ruling widely, being eminent”, or *virādhana-* “being loose, deviation”, or *vi-prāpaṇa-* “expansion”. Of course, only the first combination can stand criticism—*vi-* expressing the idea of distribution, of “being apart, asunder” or “through”—and the above brief study of the term may therefore shed some light

716) See *Early Viṣṇuism*, p. 81 ff.; 173.

717) Mbh. 1, 75, 23.

718) AV. 3, 12, 6.

719) AV. 11, 1, 22.

720) AV. 11, 5, 16.

721) AV. 6, 98, 2.

722) AV. 19, 42, 4.

723) Yāska, Nirukta, 7, 13.

on the ideas associated with the root *rāj-* in general and the substantive *rājan-* with which it often combines, in particular. The king is indeed characterized by expansiveness, by universality, by creativeness and productiveness; he is the totality of the people and the realm.

As to the connotations expressed by the compound *vi-rājati* they cannot always be distinguished from the meaning of the simplex. Yet, such passages as ṚV. 5, 63, 7 *viśvam bhuvanam virājasi* "rules the whole world" (Mitra and Varuṇa); 5, 55, 2 "ye rule far and wide" (*urvīyā*, Maruts); 1, 3, 12 "thou art mistress over all thoughts" (Sarasvatī); 5, 8, 5 "thou bearest sway over many foods" (Agni), and especially Sat. Br. 8, 5, 1, 5 *yo vāva sarvāsu dikṣu virājati sa eva virājati* "who bears sway in all regions of the universe, he may be said to bear sway" unequivocally show that this verb often helps to emphasize the idea of "widely, everywhere". Like *rāj-* it can also express the idea of "being illustrious, conspicuous, eminent" in various contexts dealing with good fortune and prosperity ⁷²⁴).

The word *svarāj-* "self-ruling, independent" also deserves a passing notice. As a compound it belongs to the same group as *svāpati-* (Ṛgveda) "one's own lord" ⁷²⁵), said of Indra and Agni; *svayaśas-* (Ved.) "glorious, illustrious through one's own" (Indra, Agni, Soma, the waters, etc.); *svābhānu-* (ṚV.) "self-luminous" (Uṣas, the Maruts etc.); *svabhū-* (later Upan. and sūtras) "self-existent" (Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva); whereas *svayū-* "ruling of one's own free will or own right" (ṚV.) is, side by side with *svarāj-* and *svayaśástara-*, an epithet of Indra ⁷²⁶). The compound *svarājan-* "self-ruling, a self-ruler", which inter alia occurs in the Taittirīya-texts, applies to Indra, the brahmins etc. ⁷²⁷). The term *svarāj-*, which in the Vedic texts is of considerable occurrence, is not infrequently used in a remarkable way ⁷²⁸): in connection with the swift celestial courses of the Aśvins; with the immortal Maruts, with a "foremost heaven-winner", with Indra whom

⁷²⁴) See *Aspects of early Viṣṇuism*, p. 200.

⁷²⁵) That means: "über den kein anderer gebietet" (H. GRASSMANN, *Wörterbuch zum Rig-veda*, 1626).

⁷²⁶) Ṛgveda 3, 45, 5.

⁷²⁷) For the opposite *anyarājan-* see Chāndogya-upaniṣad 7, 25, 2.

⁷²⁸) See Ṛgveda 1, 181, 2; 5, 58, 1; Atharvaveda 5, 2, 8; Ṛgveda 1, 61, 9; 8, 81, 4; 61, 2; 45, 5; 49, 2; 8, 69, 17; 7, 66, 6; 2, 28, 1; Atharvaveda 10, 7, 31; Ṛgveda 1, 80; 5, 66, 6.

people worship respectfully, who in extent surpasses heaven, earth and atmosphere, who is the one who disposes of possessions, who is to wield the power called *ojas*, who is the first among the highest; with the Ādityas and their mother Aditi, “the protectors of the inviolable divine ordinances, who as ‘kings’ (*rājānaḥ*, i.e. *svāmināḥ* “lords” Sāyaṇa) are very powerful”; with the rich and wealthy Varuṇa, who shall surpass all others in greatness. Autocracy (*svārājyam*) is in the Atharvaveda characterized as that beyond which there is nothing else existent. It belongs to Indra after having defeated the Vṛtra, that is to say, after having expelled him from heaven and earth. But the *svārājyam* of Mitra and Varuṇa is also qualified as most expansive (*vyaciṣṭha-*) and “protecting many” (*bahupāyya-*).

We now have to return for a moment to the *nirājanā* ceremony. On the authority of Varāhamihira ⁷²⁹), whose description probably is the oldest of those extant, the king “whose soldiers, horses (*vājīn-*) and elephants are most pleased, whose army is glittering from the beams of stainless weapons, whose army shows no evil symptoms (resultant on bad omina) and strikes terror into the ranks of the enemy, shall soon conquer the earth”. The king who performs the rite must, in full pomp, take his seat on a tiger-skin; a priest touches horses, soldiers, elephants, and the king himself with ‘holy’ water pronouncing prayers for the expiation of sin and the prosperity of the kingdom (*śāntikapauṣṭikamantraiḥ*); the rite is stated to cause a state of appeasement of evil for the weal of the kingdom (*śāntim rāṣṭravivṛddhyai*). After the ceremony the king mounts and moves with his army in the northeasterly direction, like Indra amid the victorious gods. The expiatory character of the rite is also evident from the construction of a “seat of appeasement” (*śāntisadman-*) on an approved spot, to the north-east of the town, of an arched doorway (*torāṇa-*) under which the horse is to be led ⁷³⁰), and of various auspicious and evil-averting objects and figures, such as banners, amulets, fishes. As already emerges from the description given in the preceding part of this treatise it is the king himself who has an important share in the performance of the rites. Indian authorities in

⁷²⁹) Varāhamihira (6th cent. A.D.), *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*, a. 44, 28; 13; 20; 21; 22; 26.

giving their opinion about the rite are also explicit on this point ⁷³¹).

May this fact shed some light upon the signification of the rite and on the name with which it is denoted? The interpretation of the term given by Kṣīrasvāmin: *nīrājana-* means *ajana-* i.e. “throwing (*kṣepa-*) of propitiatory water” does not convince: although water is used, the combination with the verb *aj-* “to drive (cattle etc.)” is uncommon. The explication alternatively proposed by the same commentator (“das völlige Erglanzen-lassen von Reittier, Waffe u.s.w. mit Mantra und Feuerbrand” ⁷³²)) seems to be right in that it is based on the analysis *nis + rāj-*. In the modern dictionaries two meanings of *nīrājayati* are distinguished: “to cause to shine upon, illuminate” and “to perform the *nīrājanā* ceremony”. On closer inspection it seems however possible to maintain that there is only one meaning: “to lustrate or purify”. Compare Proboḍhacandrodaya 2, 8 without touching his feet the princes purify the surface of the ground beside his foot-stool with the rays of their crest jewels (cf. also 4, 30 +): as is well known jewels were highly valued, inter alia because of their supposed power of dispelling enemies, danger and various misfortunes; they can also purify, bestow wealth, children, triumph and good health, in short they may give what one desires ⁷³³). The original or etymological sense of the verb may therefore have been “to remove (*nis-* “away, forth”), by applying a special lustral power, evil influences”, the lustral power being implied in a display of the power or the manifestation of the idea contained in the root *rāj-* ⁷³⁴), i.e. by a display of majesty, royal power and splendour. In the course of time the original sense was, anyhow, forgotten ⁷³⁵).

730) For this act of lustration see MEYER, *Trilogie* III, p. 334, s.v. *torāṇa-*.

731) See e.g. Amarakośa 2, 8, 94, where the *nīrājanā* is identified with the *lohābhisāra*-ceremony or “iron-attack” (“Eisenentsendung”) which is to be performed by kings, and Kṣīrasvāmin’s commentary (*Trivandrum Sanskrit Series* 51, ad 2, 8, 94 a), where both ceremonies, though distinguished, are closely associated.

732) LOSCH, *o.c.*, p. 53.

733) See e.g. Varāhamihira, *Brhatsaṃhitā*, ch. 80 ff.; 81, 22 *mahāpavitra-*; 82, 6 the sovereign who wears a special ruby shall never be ill or poisoned; there will be always rain in his domain and he annihilates his enemies.

734) For the sense of the compound one might compare: *niḥ-sic-* “to pour away, remove”; *nir-mṛj-* “to rub or wipe off”; *nir-vid-* “to do away with”; *nī-ruc-* “to drive away by shining” etc.

735) Cf. e.g. Bhavabhūti, *Uttararāmacarita*, 6, 18.

There may be room here for an etymological digression in order to illustrate the original meaning of the root *rāj-*, which in my opinion originally expressed the idea of “stretching (out), stretching oneself out”, the king being the one who “stretched himself out and protected (other men) under his powerful arms”⁷³⁶). The same gesture can however also serve to enforce obedience (cf. e.g. RV. 2, 38, 2). Besides, it was of course thought possible for divine powers to stretch out their arms and hands; in the R̥gveda the god Savitar, the divine motor and impeller, is stated to stand erect, broad-handed (*prthupāni-*) and to extent his arms, so as to make himself obeyed by all beings.

In a thorough examination of the noun *rajas* Burrow rightly concluded that this word etymologically belongs to the root *rāj-* “to stretch (out)”, that is to say: to the same root which is contained in *rāj-* “king”. From a study of the contexts in which the word *rajas* is used in the R̥gveda it emerges that “space, expanse, extent” is its most usual meaning⁷³⁷). In a particular sense it applies to the intermediate space between sky and earth: Agni is said to have gone through the *rajas*, i.e. the space between heaven and earth; the sun pervades it with its rays; the three-wheeled chariot of the Aśvins which appears in the sky before dawn moves round it; in so doing it resembles the sun. The sacrifice is compared to the *rajas* which has expanded (*vitata-*). But in the plural the reference is to the regions of space in general, and in the dual to heaven and earth. We also hear of a *divo rajah* “the expanse of the sky”. Elsewhere a stretch of country or distance is meant: “the swift steeds traversing the *rajas* with their steps beat on the surface of the earth with their hoofs”. Similarly, with regard to an eminent courser. The extent (*rajas*) of the earth or universe is not big enough to contain Indra. The word can

736) For a more detailed discussion of the meaning of this root I refer to a paper *Semantisches zu idg. rēg- “König” und zur Wurzel reĝ- “(sich aus-)strecken”* which is to appear in the *Zeitschrift für vergl. Sprachforschung* (Kuhn's Zeitschrift).

737) On *rajas* see especially T. BURROW in the *Bulletin of the School of Or. and Afr. Studies* 12, London 1948, p. 645 ff. — Cf. RV. 1, 58, 1; 3, 1, 5; 1, 50, 7; 84, 1; 4, 36, 1; 45, 2; 6; 1, 83, 2; 1, 62, 5; 2, 31, 2; 10, 56, 5; 8, 77, 5; 7, 21, 6; 1, 52, 14; 50, 7; 6, 61, 11; 5, 48, 2. — As already pointed out by BURROW, p. 648, the Avestan *razah-* (V. 8, 97) has a similar meaning. *duire asahi razahqm* does not mean “fern an einem Ort der Einsamkeit” (Bartholomae), but “in a remote district of the regions of space (of the world)”.

also apply to a divine being. Heaven and earth are not equal to Indra in size, and the rivers have not reached the limit of his extent (*rajas*). The *rajas* is called "broad, wide" (*prthu-*, *uru-*). The verb *tan-* "to spread, extend" is sometimes used in connection with *rajas*.

XXII

It would not be improper here to go into a brief discussion of the term *cakravartin-*, the title of the emperor who according to the later belief ⁷³⁸) consisted of a part of Viṣṇu, i.e. was a partial incarnation of that Supreme Deity. The dictionaries ⁷³⁹) in translating it by "a ruler the wheels of whose chariot roll everywhere without obstruction, emperor, sovereign of the world", follow Indian explications ⁷⁴⁰). However, *-vartin-* at the end of a compound regularly conveys the sense of "being situated, abiding, staying in etc.": cf. *kaṇṭhavartin-* — "being in the throat" (Kālidāsa); *pārśvavartin-* "standing by the side, attendant" (kāvya); *madhyavartin-* "being in the middle, central" (kāvya etc.); *vaśavartin-* "being under the control of" (Mbh. etc.), etc. ⁷⁴¹). The remarkable *maṇḍalavartin-* which occurs in the Bhāgavata-purāṇa in the sense of "governor of a province or ruler of a small kingdom", though obviously formed after the model of *cakravartin-* points the same way. The compound *guruvartin-* (epics) means "behaving respectfully towards parents or venerable persons" is not essentially different, the relation between the members of the compound being unaltered. So the term *cakravartin-*, though occurring as early as the Maitrī-upaniṣad, 1, 4 can hardly be interpreted otherwise. The explanation "who sets rolling the wheel (of his dominion), turner

738) Cf. e.g. Brahmanḍa Pur. 1, 29, 78.

739) Cf. Petrograd Dict. 2, 911; MONIER-WILLIAMS 381.

740) However, the authorities do not agree in all respects. Nilakanṭha, on Mbh. 1, 74, 127 for instance, observes: *cakraṃ rathacakraṃ ājñā vā anyatarena sarvaṃ vyāpnotīti cakravartī*. Cf. the Mītākṣara on Yājñ. 1, 266 *pravṛttacakraṭā: apratihatājñatā*.

741) It is not difficult to give some parallels of adjectives in *-in-* denoting a close contact, a person who is charged or entrusted with a task, an "Inhaber" etc.: see J. WACKERNAGEL-A. DEBRUNNER, *Altindische Grammatik*, II², Göttingen 1954, p. 333 ff.; compare especially such titles as *śreṣṭhin-* "a distinguished man, chief of an association, head of a guild" and *parameṣṭhin-* "chief, principal". Being more specialized in sense they cannot be called complete synonyms of their "Grundwort".

of the wheel" ⁷⁴²) which is not incompatible with the rules of Sanskrit grammar ⁷⁴³) may perhaps be regarded as a re-interpretation. If this be correct, the only point which needs clearing up is: what is meant by a *cakra*- in this connection?

What then is a *cakra*-? The original, i.e. etymological sense of the word is "wheel": Avestan *čaxra* (Yt. 10, 136), Engl. *wheel* etc., belonging, with other words, to the root *k^{ue}l*- "to turn, move round". It does not seem to be an unwarranted supposition that already in pre-historic times the word could also express related meanings: the cognate *κύκλος* expresses, in the earlier Greek texts, mostly the sense of "ring, circle"; moreover, it can, partly in comparatively ancient documents, stand for "any circular body". It is on the other hand beyond doubt that the wheel had already at an early period, what is sometimes incorrectly qualified as a metaphorical or symbolical value, that is to say that it involved conceptions of a ritual or magico-religious order ⁷⁴⁴). The *cakra*- or wheel as a 'symbol' is generally assumed to be derived from the wheel of the sun which in its daily course illumines and rules the earth ⁷⁴⁵). That the 'symbolism' of the wheel was present to the

⁷⁴²) Cf. also the *Petrograd Dict.* II, 911: "der die Räder seines Wagens ungehemmt über alle Länder rollen lässt".

⁷⁴³) See WACKERNAGEL-DEBRUNNER, *o.c.*, p. 342 f.

⁷⁴⁴) The ancient texts supply a large number of instances of the important rôle played by the wheel in the thought of Vedic men. The wheel of the chariot of the sun is e.g. mentioned *RV.* 1, 121, 13; 130, 9; 174, 5; 175, 4; 5, 31, 11; it is checked by Indra: 4, 28, 2, or stolen by the same god: 4, 30, 4; 5, 291, 10. It may be added that this chariot which is the visible representation of the year and of time in general — hence the wheel of the year e.g. *RV.* 1, 164, 11 — has only one wheel: 1, 164, 2; *AV.* 10, 8, 7; the sun is said to make it turn: 7, 63, 2 (cf. 1, 164, 14); 2, 11, 20. We find the wheel also in similes. *RV.* 6, 24, 3, the two worlds being compared to two wheels, Indra to the axle which reaches beyond them (cf. 10, 89, 4). All worlds, abodes, or beings (*bhuvana*-) are called wheels: *AV.* 19, 53, 1; cf. 9, 9, 2 etc.; or all beings are placed on a revolving wheel: *RV.* 1, 164, 13 (cf. 11; *AV.* 9, 9, 14). The wheel of dominion — thus GELDNER — occurs *RV.* 10, 93, 9, Indra being the one who controls it; 8, 63, 8 the same god protects or helps along the turning wheel; cf. also 10, 89, 2.

⁷⁴⁵) For the wheel see also K. A. TIEMANN, in H. BÄCHTOLD-STÄUBLI, *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* VII, p. 463 ff.: "Das Rad findet ... eine so verschiedenartige Anwendung, dass es nicht möglich ist, diese Formen alle auf eine Grundvorstellung zurückzuführen: ... magisch, apotropäisch, Orakelkraft ...; häufig ... im Kulte des Jahresfeuers: alle Glaubensäusserungen beziehen sich nur auf die Verbreitung von Fruchtbarkeit und Gedeihen oder auf die Abwehr von Schaden und feindlichen Dämonen. In den meisten Fällen sind

'Indian mind' is also apparent from Kālidāsa's statement that the sovereign who could achieve the ideal of ruling the entire world under one umbrella, drove a chariot of unchecked course up to the end of directions, and similar phrases which also recur in inscriptions ⁷⁴⁶).

According to the Petrograd Dictionary ⁷⁴⁷) *cakra-* is sometimes equivalent to *rāṣṭra-* "dominion" meaning "das über die Länder hinrollende Rad des Monarches, Herrschaft" ("the wheel of a monarch's chariot rolling over his dominions, realm, sovereignty"). I would propose the following emendation, taking *cakra-* to be the 'symbol' or rather representation of conquering efficacy. On the one hand the wheel constitutes the moving power of a carriage, and chariot races are, as we already know, a very important means of generating *vāja-* and obtaining or establishing dominion. On the other hand the sun which is itself a wheel, ever invincible and ever indefatigable, turns its circle in the sky and the universe. We must recall to memory the famous Buddhist *dharmacakka*, the so-called Wheel of Law, or, rather, the conquering efficacy, perfection, supremacy implicated in the Dhamma, which like the sun illumines and rules the earth, and the likewise Buddhist *brahmacakka* "the excellent wheel", i.e. the doctrine of the Buddha. The wheel is representative of the universality of the spiritual dominion of the Enlightened One, whose secular counterpart is the universal earthly monarch, both of them manifesting the same universal principle, the former on the spiritual, the latter on the secular plane. To roll or move the wheel belongs to

Räder und Scheibe nicht viel mehr als das Mittel, um die Zauberkraft des Jahresfeuers auf einen möglichst grossen Umkreis auszudehnen. Häufig findet man im deutschen Volksglauben die Vorstellung, dass Dämonen zu bestimmten Zeiten auf einem Wagen oder einer Radwelle umziehen. Des öfteren begegnet bei Festen und Umzügen der Brauch, Räder, die meist in drehender Bewegung gehalten werden, mitzuführen. Eine ziemliche Bedeutung besitzt das Rad im altdeutschen Rechtsleben". Special attention may be drawn to a symbolism already known to Plato (Phaedrus 24): the wheel, as "symbol" of motion, can express the idea of life in general. [Now see also L. SILBURN, *Instant et cause*, Paris 1955, p. 14 ff.].

⁷⁴⁶) Cf. Kāl. Ragh. 2, 47; 3, 4; Śāk. 7, 33 etc.; Mathurā stone Inscription of Candragupta II, etc.

⁷⁴⁷) Petr. Dict. II, 907, 11. — In a stanza to be pronounced during the śimantonnayana (see e.g. KANE, *Hist. of Dharmaś.* II, p. 222 f.) it reads: "fixed is the wheel (i.e. dominion) of this river (i.e. the river near which the sacrificer lives)".

a king: "I am that king, that peerless king of dhamma; in accordance with dhamma I roll my *cakka*" ("wheel of Truth") 748). Needless to observe that Buddha is the *cakravartin*- par excellence.

It will however be difficult to assert that the other meanings and connotations must be kept completely apart. The "wheel" could, for instance in magic and yoga, also be a 'centre' containing power 749). It may in this connection be useful to observe that the 'symbolism' connected with kingship plays also an important part in those rites which, in the Tantrist practices of a later period, centre in the *maṇḍala*- or 'mystic' circle 750). The ceremonies performed in a *maṇḍala*- are in essence an *abhiṣeka*-, i.e. a royal consecration; before entering the circle the pupil who is to be initiated is presented with the royal insignia. He becomes free, i.e. superior to the cosmic powers, he becomes a sovereign. May we, by analogy with this ritual, which probably is much older than our sources, infer from the above data that a *cakravartin*- originally was a king who participated in the conquering efficacy of the 'wheel', i.e. of the sun, of the *vāja*-winning and 'imperialistic' chariot, of a power centre of universality, of universal dominion? Some importance may perhaps be attached to the epithets added to the *cakravartin*'s *cakra*- 751): it spreads abroad, is brilliant, heavenly, invincible. The central and dominant position of the person who occupies a place in a 'wheel' may also be illustrated by a passage in an upaniṣad 752): like the spokes on the hub of a wheel, everything is established on (in) life, the Ṛgveda, the Yajurveda, the Sāmaveda, nobility (*kṣatra*-) and the brahmanical class. So the term *cakravartin*- might have come to denote a universal king—a king who according to Buddhist sources rules the earth surrounded by the ocean or the *paṭhavimaṇḍala*, "the circle of the earth" 753):

748) Suttanipāṭa 3, 7, 554. The Buddhists also hold that the main treasure of the emperor, the *cakkaratana*, which is a sort of palladium of dominion, wins the various quarters of the world for him. Wherever it halts, all the chiefs of that quarter acclaim him as their sovereign.

749) I refer to M. ELIADE, *Le yoga*, Paris 1954, p. 237 ff.; 243 ff.; 394.

750) See G. TUCCI, *Teoria e pratica del maṇḍala*, Rome 1949; ELIADE, *o.c.*, p. 225.

751) Cf. Mbh. 1, 74, 127 *tasya tat prathitaṃ cakram prāvartata mahātmanah| bhāsvaram divyam ajitaṃ lokasamṇādanam mahat*.

752) Praśna Up. 2, 6.

753) See also W. KIRFEL, *Die Kosmographie der Inder*, Bonn u. Leipzig, 1920, p. 11*.

“he who is placed in the *cakra*—” is he who like the sun is the centre, lord and sustainer of the world, its eye and life-giver; coinciding with the *axis mundi* the sovereign could reside only in the middle.

It must, however, be emphasized that the *cakravartin* idea was largely theoretical and perhaps even utopian in character. In contradistinction to the many authors who liked to dwell on this ideal of kingship the politicians, who based their doctrines on worldly interest, developed the theory of the *vijigīṣu*- or conquerer, i.e. the king who is desirous of victory and desires to conquer his neighbours. According to Kāmandaka 8, 21 the *vijigīṣu*- occupies a position at the head, or in the centre, of a group of ‘states’ or kingdoms. This group of states is called a *maṇḍala*-. Although this term in this connection is usually translated by “circle of a king’s near and distant neighbours with whom he must maintain political and diplomatic relations”, the number of these relations varying from 3 to 9 or even 11, it is clear that it is identical with the same word *maṇḍala*- as used in other contexts. It is, however, also plain that the whole conception of *maṇḍala*- in this connection stands or falls with the belief that one of the petty rulers of a certain area—whose aim it is to render tributary those whose kingdoms lie on the borders of his own territory—pretends to be its centre. This ruler, the *vijigīṣu*-, is accordingly considered the *maṇḍalanābhi*- or “centre (chief) of a circle of neighbouring princes.” This term actually occurs in Kālidāsa’s *Raghuvamśa* 9, 15. It may be parenthetically noticed that the same poet in the same canto (9, 2) of this work uses the word *maṇḍala*- in the sense of the circle of his own subjects. From these and similar passages it may therefore be inferred that the idea of the central character of the king, whether he ruled his own country or enjoyed the position of a paramount sovereign, here again, underlies a whole complex of ideas connected with sovereignty. These considerations may perhaps be an argument in favour of the above supposition with regard to the original sense of the term *cakravartin*-.

Another explication of the term has recently been proposed by Zimmer⁷⁵⁴) who regards it as deriving from *cakravarta*- “the circumference of the mighty mountain-range that surrounds the world,

⁷⁵⁴) H. ZIMMER, *Philosophies of India*, New-York 1951, p. 128 ff.; cf. also the same, *The Art of India*, New-York 1955, I, p. 245.

beyond the enveloping world-ocean, like a rim". The *cakravartin*-would, then, be "he the rim of whose 'wheel' (*cakra*-) is the universe", the king himself being the hub of the earth. To this view there are obvious objections, first that *cakravarta*- in the above sense does not appear in our texts, the word for that range of mountains being *cakravāla*-, and in the second place that "owner of the circumference of mountains at the extremity of the universe" does not necessarily imply "ruler of the universe" 755).

XXIII

Now that we have traced out the main beliefs and customs connected with the 'divinity' of kings it is time to turn once more to *Pr̥thu*, the first king, that is to say the archetype and primordial model of any actual ruler. The way in which he, in the days of yore, was invested with dominion and compelled the earth to yield a sufficient supply of food is not without significance for those who wish to gain an insight into the ancient Indian beliefs with regard to the essence of kingship. Just as to recount the origins of the human race serves to perpetuate human life, and especially the community or social group, so can we be sure that to relate the story of the institution of kingship and the achievements of the first king was a means of ensuring not only the continuance of kingship in general, but also of those particular features of kingship which are emphasized in the story.

The oldest trait of the tradition concerning the primeval *Pr̥thu* seems to be that he i.e. *Pr̥thī* son of *Vena*, milked *Virāj* when she, according to a difficult 'hymn' of the *Atharvaveda* 756), went through

755) For a description of the Buddhist *cakravartin* see *Dīgha Nikāya*, 17, 7 ff.; 26, 4 (translated by T. W. and C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, II and III, London 1910 and 1921). As is well known the ancient Cambodian king was at a later period not only the centre of the world but also identical to the main god. His "symbol", the *liṅga*-, was established and revered on a high mountain which was considered the centre of the universe and a copy of the world-mountain. See e.g. P. Mus, *Cultes indiens et indigènes du Champa*, *Bull. de l'école franc. de l'Extr. Orient* 33, p. 406 ff.; Ph. VAN AKKEREN, *Een gedrocht en toch de volmaakte mens*, Thesis Utrecht 1951, p. 12 f. During the reign of a *cakravartin* the earth will extend to 100 000 leagues and all people will be wealthy and prosperous.

756) AV. 8, 10, esp. st. 24.

a series of migrations and metamorphoses: he milked from her agriculture and grain, on which men subsist; on that occasion the earth was the milking-pail. In the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa a Pṛthī (= Pṛthu) is referred to as "the first of men who was installed as a king" ⁷⁵⁷). Thereupon he wished to secure all food. After "they had offered for him the so-called *pārtha*-oblations—this term deriving from his name—he appropriated to himself all food here on earth including the forest beasts." He makes his appearance also in other brāhmaṇas, being recorded as the one who by means of a particular sāman obtained the supremacy over wild and domesticated animals ⁷⁵⁸). These early allusions receive a consistent literary form in the Mahābhārata and the purāṇas.

In the great epic ⁷⁵⁹) Pṛthu is described as the first emperor of the world who was installed (*sāmrājye*) by the mighty sages (*mahar-ṣayaḥ*), on the celebration of his rājasūya sacrifice ⁷⁶⁰). After having conquered all his enemies, he extended (*prathita*-, a more modern term might be: consolidated) his empire, for which he came to be called *Pṛthu*-. Protecting his subjects from wounds and injuries (*kṣatāt*) he proved to be a true *kṣatriya*-. Because his subjects on seeing him said that they were delighted (*raktāḥ*) he obtained the title *rājā*. The earth yielded corn without being cultivated and she fulfilled all his desires (she was his cow of plenty: *kāmadhuk*). The cows also yielded milk whenever desired, and every lotus-bud was filled with honey. The fruits were nectareous and full of flavour, and none went without food. In his kingdom men lived free from fear and diseases. Neither decrepitude nor calamity prevailed. When Pṛthu went to the sea, its waves became solidified. The mountains opened a way for him and his standard never broke (i.e. was never obstructed). Gods, asuras, manes, sages, ascetics, ordinary men, animals, trees and mountains declared him to be their emperor, protector, delighter, saviour, and father, and asked him for the boons which they desired to obtain in order to live in plenty and happiness for

⁷⁵⁷) Śat. Br. 5, 3, 5, 4.

⁷⁵⁸) Pañc. Br. 13, 5, 19 f. Cf. also T.Br. 2, 7, 5, 1; J.U.Br. 1, 10, 9 etc.

⁷⁵⁹) Mbh. 7, a. 69.

⁷⁶⁰) Special attention may be drawn to the diversity in particulars — which sometimes even passes into mutual contradiction — in the "theories" about kingship to be found in the epics. See e.g. HILLEBRANDT, *Altindische Politik*, p. 9 ff.

endless years. Then taking his bow and arrows, and meditating for a while he asked the earth to give his subjects the milk (i.e. the edibles etc.) which they wished to possess. After having stipulated that the king should look upon her as his own daughter, the earth consented and Pṛthu arranged for the milking. Thereupon the whole assemblage of creatures began to milk her successively: the trees obtained buds, the mountains jewels and useful plants, the celestials everything capable of imparting energy (*ūrjaskaram*); men cultivation and crops, the serpent poison, the seven sages knowledge of the supreme brahman, the *rākṣasas* the power of disappearing, the waves the *svadhā*, i.e. the food of clarified butter etc. usually offered to them. Thus the earth gave every class of beings the objects of their respective desire. The king celebrated various sacrifices. In another book of the great epic ⁷⁶¹) the poet emphasizes that during Pṛthu's reign the earth produced crops without being tilled, that every leaf of the trees bore honey, that every cow gave plenty of milk. Pṛthu also removed the rocks which lay all around causing the hills and mountains to increase in size. After his coronation which was performed by Viṣṇu, Indra and the other *lokapālas*, the earth came incarnate to him with a tribute of gems and jewels; the kings of the rivers and of the mountains gave him inexhaustible wealth. Horses, cars, elephants and men came into existence as soon as he thought of them. He caused all creatures to consider righteousness the most important good. Viṣṇu himself, who confirmed his power, entered his body. Therefore the entire universe adored Pṛthu.

Comment is hardly needed: it is perfectly plain that Pṛthu is the ideal king. At the end of the detailed account it is emphasized that he was superior to the living king to whom this story was told. The ideal king embodied all virtues which are generally attributed to any king. He is the one who protects the earth and her inhabitants and who causes her to give what is desired by any class of beings. Even the demons and the manes derive great benefit from the government of a good king. Without him animals, trees and mountains are frustrated in their most vital functions and in their very *raison d'être*. The ideal king is the true mediator, nay he is the divinity who sets

761) Mbh. 12, 29, 139 ff.; 59, 115 ff. Cf. also 3, a. 185.

in motion the productiveness of the earth, life and fruitfulness of all classes of beings and objects which exist on her surface.

In the purāṇical account ⁷⁶²⁾ the story of Pṛthu's reign is usually preceded by that of his wicked father Vena, who, though inaugurated monarch of the earth, prohibited worship and sacrifice. Angry at the decay of religion the sages beat him to death ⁷⁶¹⁾. But then anarchy arose. The ṛṣis rubbed Vena's right arm "and from it sprang the majestic Pṛthu, resplendent in body, and glowing like the manifested Agni". Pṛthu then became invested with universal dominion. His subjects besought him for the food which the earth withheld. He seized his bow to compel her to give it. Thereupon she assumed the form of a cow and fled, but being unable to escape she finally complied. In this variant of the story Pṛthu is placed against the dark background of tyranny and anarchy. Only the good king is able to make the right use of the divine powers inherent in his high office. It is further noteworthy that other institutions, too, were attributed to Pṛthu. The origin of bards and eulogists for instance was also placed in his time ⁷⁶⁴⁾.

Another stream of tradition regarding the origin of monarchy holds that Manu ⁷⁶⁵⁾, the father of the human race, was also the first king. Although he at first refused to assume royalty owing to the sinful nature of man, he finally consented after people had granted him a

⁷⁶²⁾ I refer to F. E. PARGITER, *Ancient Indian historical tradition*, London 1922, p. 40, n. 3.

⁷⁶³⁾ It may be of interest to notice that in the *Harivaṃśa* (1, 5, 15 ff.) *mlecchas*, i.e. barbarians, and *dasyus*, i.e. impious men, enemies of the gods who neglect the essential rites, outcasts, including robbers, wild hill-tribes etc. originated from king Vena's sins. They are up to the present day the living evidence of the terrible results of sins perpetrated by so powerful a being as is the king. Cf. e.g. also Mbh. 2, 5, 76; 12, 228, 77; 13, 125, 9; *Dīghanikāyā* 1, 85 ff.; *Kāmand.* N.S. 5, 82 = *Agni Pur.* 239, 46. This double aspect of royal power and behaviour is commented upon also in the literature of other peoples. Often however the terrible and wicked behaviour of the king is said to inspire terror to the internal and external enemies. Thus for instance in a — corrupted — Sanskrit stanza in the beginning of the Javanese version of the *Virāṭaparvan*; see A. A. FOKKER, *Wirāṭaparva* I, The Hague 1938, p. 1.

⁷⁶⁴⁾ I refer to F. E. PARGITER, *o.c.*, p. 16; cf. *Brahmaṇḍa Pur.* 2, 29, 74 ff.

⁷⁶⁵⁾ For Mbh. 12, 67 and the first king in general see E. KUHN, *Zu den arischen Anschauungen vom Königtum*, *Festschrift-V. Thomsen*, Leipzig 1912, p. 214 ff.

fixed share of the produce of their labour. To Manu, who is sometimes styled a father, was attributed the great service of establishing peace among men, but also the invention of sacrifice, the introduction of fire and probably of agriculture ⁷⁶⁶). It is difficult to agree with those who would consider this prototype of the elected king—the election of a monarch is indeed often mentioned ⁷⁶⁷)—to be an argument for the thesis that kingship was a purely human or secular institution ⁷⁶⁸). First, how a particular king acceded to the throne was one thing, another what were the ideas connected with kingship in general, with its essence and with the place it occupied in the scheme of things and the order of the world. Then, the very account of Manu's election expressly stated first that in crowning a king it is Indra who is crowned ⁷⁶⁹); a man who strives after his own prosperity (*bhūti*-) should adore the king as he adores Indra himself, and secondly, that as soon as Manu has accepted to be king he was endued with great energy (*tejas*) with which he seemed to shine. Seeing that power (*mahattvam*) of Manu who was like Indra, the inhabitants of the earth became stricken with fear and began to follow their respective duties. Going round the world like a cloud charged with rain he suppressed everywhere all acts of wickedness. Thus it is the living representation of the royal function among men which inspires awe and veneration, irrespective as to how he had acceded to the throne.

In an Atharvavedic hymn to Rohita, i.e. the sun as the Ruddy One ⁷⁷⁰), which was considered by Bloomfield ⁷⁷¹) to have developed into "an allegorical exaltation of a king and his queen", the person speaking expresses the wish ⁷⁷²) that this Ruddy One with favouring mind will, in concord with the kingdom-supporting (*rāṣṭrabhṛtaḥ*) gods who go around the sun, assign kingdom to him. The adjective *rāṣṭrabhṛt-* is, as we have already seen ⁷⁷³), also used to qualify the king himself. This being or power called *rohita-*, which "has generated

766) Cf. e.g. Mbh. 12, a. 67; RV. 1, 36; 10; 8, 19, 21; 30, 2; 10, 63, 7. MACDONELL, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 138 ff.

767) See e.g. BANDYOPADHYAYA, *o.c.*, I, p. 234.

768) Thus BANDHYOPADHYAYA, *o.c.*, passim.

769) Mbh. 12, 67, 4; 30 ff.

770) Ath. V. 13, 1.

771) M. BLOOMFIELD, in the *American Journal of Philology* 12, p. 429 ff.

772) Ath. V. 13, 1, 35.

773) See *Numen* 3/1956, 41; 4/1957, 50.

this all", is further requested 774) to "enter this kingdom" and "to bear" the person addressed "unto kingdom". After having been discovered by the six wide ones, i.e. the spaces, "he brought the kingdom hither" 775): so much is clear that the sun is considered to have been, by intermediary of the regions of the universe, instrumental in creating, introducing, or establishing kingship. In the next stanza this idea is specified: "he has brought your kingship", so that the scorers have scattered and "security has become yours".

There is one point of some slight interest regarding the rivalry between the gods and the asuras which might find a place here: after having overpowered the latter the gods won the kingdom by means of a series of prayers and oblations called the *rāṣṭrabhṛtaḥ* "supporters of kingdom"; that is, according to the *Taittirīya-saṃhitā* 776), why the *rāṣṭrabhṛtaḥ* have their name. They should therefore be resorted to by the man who desires to win the kingdom 777).

A curious account of the relation between the ruler and the people may perhaps be read in the story 778) of the self-existent *brāhman-*(neuter) which while performing asceticism came to the conviction that, as there is no perpetuity in asceticism, it should offer up itself in all the creatures (*bhūta-*), and then, at the "all-sacrifice" (*sarva-medha-*) offer all the creatures in itself. Thereupon it (he) attained the supremacy over all the creatures. The sacrificer can gain his end by imitating the god 779).

From a consideration of these various accounts of the origin of kingship the remarkable fact emerges that—apart from such individual instances as the divine descent of the epic heroes and so on—no theories were enunciated concerning a divine origin of kings or dynasties. Even the legitimacy of individual rulers and dynasties does not seem to have been a matter of much care or dispute to those who discussed the function and position of the ruler. "Śukra—an authority on *nīti*—wants us to understand that the king is great only from his station, but that as an individual he is just a mortal among mortals.

774) Ibid. st. 1.

775) Ibid. st. 4.

776) Taitt. Saṃh. 3, 4, 6, 2.

777) For these formulas see e.g. Taitt. Saṃh. 3, 4, 7; Vāj. Saṃh. 18, 38-44 etc.

778) Śat. Br. 13, 7, 1, 1; Śāṅkh. Śr. sū. 16, 15, 1.

779) For the *sarvamedha* see A. HILLEBRANDT, *Ritualliteratur*, p. 154.

The office of kingship ... may be conceded to be sacred, but not the person who happens to hold it" 780). There is also room for the observation that these traditions and speculations on the origin of kingship contain no traces of such 'primitive' sorcerer-kings or priest-kings as often are a subject of discussion among ethnologists 781).

One might be under the impression that a more or less utilitarian justification of kingship does not fail to make its appearance in our sources. Some authorities in the epics and in works produced in the same period seem to venerate the office of the head of the government mainly on account of the manifold services rendered to mankind. But this does not mean that they regarded kingship completely as a merely human institution and the king as a public servant in the modern sense of the term. A similar utilitarian justification of the worship of the gods is given in the well-known stanza of the Bhāgavadgītā 782), expressing a common Indian conviction: by strengthening the divine power men strengthen themselves. Decay of religion, like absence of royal authority, results in fatal losses in welfare and happiness. Worship, and the very existence of divine powers in general are, from this point of view, extremely pragmatic affairs.

XXIV

That the prime minister, or the ministers collectively, and the high officials in general, were an important element of the state is no news to anyone who has read such books as the Manusmṛti or the Arthaśāstra with any care. It seems therefore worth while to examine their function and their relation to the king more closely. An interesting statement is found in Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra 783): it is the king who appoints ministers and who replaces them by others if they are liable to what is called *vyasana*-, which means, generally speaking, "evil, misfortune, ill-luck, evil predicament", and being a source of evil for others (in this connection for the state), originates in attachment to evil passions or sinful activities 784), in short "all that removes wel-

780) B. K. SARKAR, *The political institutions*, p. 174.

781) See e.g. J. G. FRAZER, *Lectures on the early history of kingship*, London 1905, p. 106 ff.; VAN DER LEEUW, *Religion*, ch. 26, 3.

782) Bhāgavadgītā 3, 11.

783) Kauṭ. AS. 127, 12 ff.

784) See also MEYER, *Buch v. Welt. u.S.* p. 492, n. 2.

fare from man" 785). The king is constantly intent upon honouring those who deserve to be honoured and in restraining those who are culpable and corruptible. But whether the elements of the state are like ministers, the purohita, and others, human beings or whether they are not, it is the king from whom originates the counteraction of all mischief happening to the elements of the state as well as the furtherance of their welfare. A perfect (excellent, accomplished) ruler makes, by his own perfection (accomplishments), the elements of the state perfect 786). The other elements of the state (ministers, army, subjects, etc.) are addicted to those practices and characterized by those dispositions which are his 787), because they live in dependence on him who occupies the position at the top. So the monarch is so to say the heaven, which permeates the elements of the state, the great power in the background, the irrational foundation of authority.

That there was an irrational element in the relations between the ruler and his ministers also appears from such plain statements as are found in the dharma-books: the king should, according to Manu 788), consult with his counsellors, unobserved, on the back of a hill or terrace—the reason of this is from a practical point of view obvious—and at the time of consultation he should remove animals, idiots, blind, dumb and other disabled men, women, barbarians and very aged persons—and these measures cannot be explained as merely practical and 'secular' in character because, from the point of view of politics or public security, sane and able-bodied men might do more harm than idiots and animals. Although the author adds that such despicable persons, likewise animals, and particularly women betray secret council, and although the commentators would make us believe that the word 'animals' only refers to talking birds, it originally was no doubt the magical harm emanating from these categories of beings which furnished the main motive for this direction. The very title of the 'Imperial Chancellor', *mantrin*-, indicates that at least originally the advices given by him to the king had a magico-religious aspect: a *mantrin*- was the one who knew those sacred or potent formulas

785) Kauṭ. AS. 127, 4 *vyasyaty enaṃ śreyasaḥ*.

786) Kauṭ. AS. 127, 15 *svāmī ca saṃpannaḥ svasaṃpadbhiḥ prakṛtīḥ saṃpādayati*.

787) Ibid. 16 *svayaṃ yacchīlas tacchīlāḥ prakṛtayo bhavanti*.

788) Manu 7, 147 ff.

which were called mantras: apart from the rhythmic parts of the Vedas, the sacrificial, mystical or magical formulas, the term included also charms and incantations, secret plans and designs; hence *mantrin*- in the sense of “enchanter” or “conjurer”. The accomplishments of a *mantrin*-⁷⁸⁹) consist in the ability to give ‘secret counsel’ (*mantragup-ti*-). Sometimes the term is given a very wide sense⁷⁹⁰), including the purohita, the physician, the astrologer, the ambassador, the inspectors of the strongholds, the army and the treasury, and even the king himself. Whereas kings are incidentally related to “leave the protection of the subjects for a moment to the intelligence of their ministers”⁷⁹¹)—and protection of the kingdom is one of the very reasons of their existence⁷⁹²)—these officials gain in importance as soon as the throne falls vacant⁷⁹³).

While it is impossible to collect all references to customs or institutions which are remotely related to kingship, it seems to be worth while to draw attention for a moment to some opinions with regard to the kingdom: *rāṣṭra*-, a term including not only the realm, country or dominion, but also the people or nation. This conception is for instance found in the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa⁷⁹⁴): “the third class, the ‘people’, is the *rāṣṭra*-”. In the brāhmaṇas the *rāṣṭra*- is sometimes explicitly identified with *śrī*- “material welfare, and the outward splendour connected with it”: “the aśvamedha doubtless is that *śrī*, *rāṣṭra*-”; “*śrī*- is the centre of *rāṣṭra*-”. Or possessions (*dhanāni*), wealth, is identified with “kingdom”⁷⁹⁵). The *rāṣṭra*- is identified with the aśvamedha⁷⁹⁶); “it is after *rāṣṭra*- or royal sway that these strive who guard the horse”. Elsewhere the *rāṣṭra*- is regarded as identical with the membrum virile⁷⁹⁷) and with the fist⁷⁹⁸), because they “press hard”, royal power pressing hard on the people. It may also

789) See Kāmand. N.S. 4, 31; for a more detailed account Kauṭ. N.S. 5.

790) The following is borrowed from a stanza quoted in a commentary on the Hitopadeśa 3, 53.

791) Thus Kālid. Śak. 6, 32.

792) Cf. Bhāradvāja quoted by Kauṭ. AS. 127, 8.

793) See Kauṭ. AS. 94 f.

794) Ait. Br. 8, 26, 8.

795) Ait. Br. 8, 26, 10.

796) Śat. Br. 13, 1, 6, 3.

797) Taitt. Br. 3, 9, 7, 4; Śat. Br. 13, 2, 9, 6.

798) Ibid. 5 and 7 respectively.

be observed that the great deities are not infrequently identified with *kṣatra-* i.e. ruling power, rule, dominion, or nobility. *Varuṇa* is *kṣatra-* 799); *Indra* is *kṣatra-* 800); (*Agni*) *Vaiśvānara* is *kṣatra-* 801). But the same remark is applicable to a royal personage, a man of the ruling class: he also is rule, dominion, or 'temporal power' 802) (*kṣatra-*). Or he is described as a manifestation (*rūpam*) of it 803). Or he is *ojas*, *kṣatra-*, and *vīrya-* "manly strength" 804). And *kṣatra-* is also the "kingdom" or "nation" (*rāṣṭra-*) 805).

This is not to contend that there ever was in ancient, historical and pre-historic India only one single 'idea' expressed by the terms *rāj-* and *rājan-*. One may safely assume that kingship was always complex in function. Indian culture, though homogeneous for centuries, has always been characterized by a considerable degree of variety. For the educated and for the lower people the figure and the cult of the same god often were, and are, different. For the Vedic 'knights' and warriors *Indra* was in the first place a warrior-god, their divine ally, the dispenser of bounty, for the peasants he was the god of rain and fertility who presided over harvest and agriculture. The same concept of *śrī-* "(material) welfare" showed itself in almost innumerable aspects: for the farmer *śrī-* meant abundance of corn, for the nobleman wealth and outward splendour, for a young woman beauty and loveliness, for others success, power or even intellect. So "the king" could mean something quite different to a soldier, a peasant, a brahman, or a courtier. Besides, religion and social life, even in its economic and political aspects, were inextricably intermingled. Whatever his importance from the religious point of view, the king always was the central figure in the state in the way emphasized by those who like *Kauṭilya* focussed their readers' attention on the practical side of Indian public life as opposed to the religious and who, while covering ground touched on by the authors of dharma-books, do so with facts and details which are widely divergent from the general rules and injunctions expounded in the latter works. But, despite their expatiations

799) See. e.g. Śat. Br. 4, 1, 4, 1; Kauṣītaki Br. 7, 10; 12, 8; Gopatha Br. 6, 7.

800) See e.g. Kauṣ. Br. 12, 8; Taitt. Br. 3, 9, 16, 3; Śat. Br. 2, 5, 2 and 7.

801) See e.g. Śat. Br. 6, 6, 1, 7; 9, 3, 1, 13.

802) See Ait. Br. 8, 6; Śat. Br. 5, 1, 5, 3; 13, 1, 5, 3.

803) Śat. Br. 13, 1, 5, 3.

804) Ait. Br. 8, 2 etc.

805) Ait. Br. 7, 22.

on all means of securing a firm hold over all within the realm, of defeating the plans of the princes who aim at the ruler's death, of organizing precaution for the royal person and safety from assassination; on a detailed control of administration, on various measures to be taken in connection with trade and traffic, on means of filling the treasury; despite their detailed discussions of inter-state relations, peace, war, alliance, and neutrality, of hunting, gambling, drinking and women and so on—we should never forget that the *Arthaśāstra* means by the 'state' an order of society which is not created by the king or the people, but which they exist to secure. These authors regarded the 'state'—if the word might be used here—as essentially a beneficial institution for protection of human life and welfare and for the better realization of the ideals of humanity. Hence the, at first sight strange, fact that the activity of the state relates to a great variety of the aspects of human life, social, economic, and religious. The policy and duties of the ruler are dictated by the necessity of preserving his power, and this noble end sanctifies the means. For the ruler has to preserve and to promote the welfare of the people, and his duty of protecting them gives to him a morality of his own.

The firm rule which is the aim and object of Kauṭilya's teachings is a necessity, for it is the very foundation of the public good. The activity of the organs of government which acted in the king's name was to embrace all that could lead to the protection of life, welfare and property in the largest sense of the words. This was the 'theoretical basis' of the practice pictured, defended, and propagated by Kauṭilya.

XXV

It must also be emphasized that the above account of the main characteristics of Indian kingship from the point of view of the comparative study of religion does not intend to be anything like a history of kingship in ancient India. We could not go into such questions as to how far royal authority was, in practical life, strengthened by particular causes and circumstances, for instance by the existence of a loyal aristocracy or by a more or less influential body of brahmans. Nor did we consider how far every point discussed on the preceding pages was accepted in all milieus and at any period, a problem which indeed is largely insoluble. We have intentionally left

those aspects of kingship undiscussed which do not pertain to our subject. In details there may have been also much difference of opinion with regard to the nature of kingship and the functions of the man on the throne, in different parts of the enormous country different features may have come to the fore. At an earlier period the mighty influence of the brahmans had not yet systematically delineated the position of the king, and defined the various aspects of his function. That the leader of the prehistoric Indian tribes was in a sense a 'divine king' may be taken for granted. On the other hand, it was the first order, the brahmans, who though convinced of their own divinity, by their mighty spiritual and intellectual influence supported and strengthened the position of the ruler with a variety of rites and theories and who proclaimed its superhuman character. It was the purohita who by his mere presence and by his knowledge and practices protected the valuable personality of the ruler, it was priesthood which consecrated him. It may be taken for granted that the superhuman nature of kingship which was rooted in the belief of the masses was in accordance with their philosophy of life and universe, which too was an amplification and an elaborated and well-considered systematization of prae-scientific views, beliefs, and interpretations of the connections between the various entities and phenomena in the universe.

We have also refrained from discussing the intricate question—the importance of which is however not denied—of how far Aryan and non-Aryan components can be distinguished in Indian kingship. A word of warning may not be out of place here. Much has been written in order to show that the non-Aryan substratum has left many traces in various provinces of the Indian culture as it is known to us from historical sources. That this influence has been considerable may be taken for granted *a priori*. But this is not to concede that any attempt to prove the non-Aryan origin of a particular custom or a definite belief must be regarded as successful. What has been said on this point is for the greater part of a more or less speculative character and any effort to point out more than general outlines would appear to be premature. Most authors neglected to consider a fact which is, with regard to all problems of this description, of outstanding interest. The expression of natural, pre-scientific, 'primitive' and 'semi-primitive' or non-modern humanity, irrespective of racial connections and geographical environments, is fairly similar. It is therefore far

from easy to decide whether definite features in myths, beliefs, customs, practices, or institutions are Aryan or non-Aryan in origin, because they may at a certain stage of cultural development have been belonged to the mental outfit of any people. Only unambiguous philological, historical and linguistic data could help us further in ascertaining what was contributed by the Aryan, what by Dravidian or other peoples ⁸⁰⁶). Besides, the processes of identification and amalgamation of religious beliefs, conceptions and institutions originally belonging to different milieus are often complicated to such a degree that the respective contributions are almost always difficult exactly to determine even if philological and historical material is available. For we should always remember that forms of worship, magic, religious beliefs, social institutions etc. occurring among the Aryan immigrants may have been identified, assimilated, and indistinguishably united from the very early moment at which in prehistoric times Aryans and non-Aryans came into contact. An Aryan, Austrian, or Dravidian name does therefore not necessarily cover a figure, cult or institution of purely Aryan, Austrian or Dravidian origin.

With regard to our subject we may, for the time being, arrive at the conclusion that in the main kingship was for the ancient Indians what it was in many other societies. The unity of basic concepts is unmistakable. As generally speaking the forms of socio-religious beliefs and institutions reflect within the pattern of pre-scientific or non-modern culture variations in the degree of civilization both ethically and socially, both temporally and geographically, it is not surprising to find that in many details the conceptions of the ancient Indians were different from those of the Egyptians, the Chinese, of various African tribes or other peoples. Some aspect—for instance the conviction that an incapable king should be killed—which is emphasized in other countries, may hardly have been of any importance in India, and vice versa. In the course of time some views of rulership varied, also in India itself, from their original form.

On the other hand ancient Indian kingship corresponded in many respects to similar institutions of other ancient Indo-European peoples ⁸⁰⁷). Despite the comparatively small number of our data

⁸⁰⁶) See for a more detailed discussion of these problems my *Aspects of early Vîṣṇuism*, ch. I.

⁸⁰⁷) The reader may be referred to O. SCHRADER-A. NEHRING, *Reallexikon*

regarding kingship and rulership in large parts of ancient Europe—the Indian sources can safely be said to flow more abundantly than those of all other Indo-European peoples together—we shall not err in maintaining that ancient Indo-European kingship was, in important aspects, a sacred institution. Whereas in India the adjective *śreyas*—“specially characterized by the possession of *śrī*-⁸⁰⁸), prosperous, rich, illustrious to a special or comparatively high degree, distinguished, superior, one’s better” and cognate words were often used in connection with rulers, the related *κρείων* was applied to the ancient Greek princes, the idea expressed by the root *krei-* *kri-* being that of “causing to prosper, (re)creating for good”⁸⁰⁹). Agamemnon’s and Poseidon’s epithet *εὐρὺ κρείων* “ruling widely” may be compared to the Indian *prthuśrī*—“of broad *śrī*”. The Homeric king was *θεῖος* “divine, holy”, and *δῖος* “heavenly”; he was *διογενής* “sprung from Zeus” and *διοτρεφής* “fostered by Zeus”. The Odyssey⁸¹⁰) completely agrees with the Indian authors in regarding “a good lord over many men who upholds justice” the source of his people’s prosperity: “the black earth bears wheat and barley, and the trees are laden with fruit, the flocks bring forth unceasingly and the sea yields fish, all from his good leading”⁸¹¹). Similar ideas were fostered by the Celts, and German communities to held their chieftains responsible for a bad harvest as well as a military defeat⁸¹²). The Irish king was subject to a variety of taboos⁸¹³), played a part in rites which were in some respects remarkably similar to those described on the foregoing pages: just as the Indian queen had, as a part of the rites of the *aśvamedha*,

der indogermanischen Altertumskunde I, Berlin-Leipzig 1917-1923, p. 613 ff.; E. KUHN, *Zu den arischen Anschauungen vom Königtum*, *Festschrift für V. Thomsen*, p. 214 ff.; ROSENBERG, in PAULY-WISSOWA, *Real-Encyclopædie*, s.v. *Rex*.

808) Die Andhra kings used to place *siri* (*śrī*-) before their names (IIInd cent. A.D.).

809) Śat. Br. 6, 7, 3, 7; 13, 2, 9, 2; cf. 4; Taitt. Br. 3, 9, 7, 1.

810) Odyssey 19, 109 ff.

811) For traces of a king acting as weather-magician in ancient Greece see J. E. HARRISON, *Themis*², Cambridge 1927, p. 109.

812) Cf. E.g. Ammianus Marcellinus 28, 5. See also O. HÖFLER, *Germanisches Sakralkönigtum*, Tübingen 1952; K. OLIVECRONA, *Das Werden eines Königs nach altschwedischem Recht*, Lund 1947.

813) Cf. e.g. M. L. SJOESTEDT, *Gods and heroes of the Celts*, London 1949, p. 70 ff.; M. DILLON, *The Taboos of the Kings of Ireland*, *Proc. Royal Irish Acad.* 54, C, 1, Dublin 1951.

to lie with the sacrificial horse, the Irish king was expected to enter into matrimonial relation with a mare. Whereas the Homeric ruler was honoured with gifts like a god and brought under his sceptre—which he possessed in common with other sacrosanct persons—his ordinances to prosperous fulfilment⁸¹⁴), the Roman king was not only head of the state, but also a priest; his priestly functions have survived. It was the belief in ancient England that the king was a representative of God; he moreover was the *hlaforð*, i.e. “guardian of bread” and like his Indian colleague, the *mundbora* “protector” of the whole people. The birth of the ancient Iranian ruler, who was also believed to be “long-armed”, really was that of a divine helper and redeemer; he represented right and justice, and protected, by his very existence, the welfare and prosperity of his realm against any danger. Even the republican Cicero in defining the essence of kingship⁸¹⁵) resorted to terms which at least admit of a ‘religious’ interpretation: “(rex est) qui consulit ut parens populo, conservatque eos quibus est praepositus quam optima in condicione vivendi”.

So far kingship in ancient times is concerned, but among the many features of hoary antiquity included in the great solemnity of the coronation of a king or queen of England are, as is well known, inter alia the resemblance of the royal vestments to sacerdotal garb—which in the Middle Ages led to numerous controversies as to whether the king after coronation possessed a priestly character. The ruler is, like the ancient Indian king, expected to protect religion, to help and defend widows and orphans, to do justice, to confirm what is in good order and to punish and reform what is amiss. The purpose of the anointing ceremony is for the recipient of the oil to receive the gifts of the Holy Ghost, the oil itself being traditionally miraculous: a similar character was, *mutatis mutandis*, attributed to the divine water drawn from the sacred river Sarasvatī, the sea, a well, rain fallen by sunshine, milk and so on, with which the ancient Indian monarch was sprinkled; and the words spoken by the Archbishop in performing his task have a remarkably resemblance to a well-known type of Indian consecrating formulas in which the power inherent in a prototype, or ‘historical’ or mythical ‘first case’ is activated on behalf of the recipient.

814) Iliad 9, 155 f.

815) Cicero, *De re publica* 1, 26, 47.

There can on the other hand be no doubt that the sacred nature of kingship assumed, in India, a much more definite character than may be assumed to have existed in prehistoric Indo-European antiquity. This kingship seems to have been one of those elements of so-called primitive or non-modern culture, which were in the West—mainly under the influence of Greek rationalism—gradually superseded, but in India—which culturally developed on its own lines⁸¹⁶)—not only preserved but even fostered and systematized. It would therefore be wise, not to rely on the *argumentum e silentio* and to ascribe to the prehistoric Greek, Romans, and Germans all beliefs and customs found in the ancient Indian documents, but rather to regard both the eastern and the ancient western conceptions of royalty and rulership as, in the first place, representative of a generally human belief, and secondly as a continuation of common Indo-European ideas and practices; and not to attribute to the prehistoric Indo-Europeans those details which we know only from the Indian sources⁸¹⁷).

816) I refer to my *Inleiding tot het Indische denken*, Antwerpen 1948, ch. I.

817) As I have, in this essay, not primarily addressed to specialists in Indology or historians, tried to summarize for students of the history of religion in general and for those interested in the religions of other ancient Asian and European peoples, the results reached by research into the “religious” aspects of kingship from the R̥gveda down to the end of the epic period and the break-up of the Gupta empire, no attention has been devoted to the “juridical status” of the king, to the administration of the kingdoms, to the historical interest of the problems discussed, or to other aspects of kingship which, however interesting by themselves, have no relevance for those interested in religion. My aim has been to set forth and to interpret as fairly as I could the main evidence, without concealing the fact that sometimes divergent views have been expressed by those who viewed the subject from another standpoint.

RELIGIOUS THOUGHT IN THE AGE OF HADRIAN

BY

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The religious thought of any brief period, such as the age of Hadrian, can never, of course, be isolated and defined as a self-contained unit, even when the period in question is one of religious revolution or striking innovations. The age of Hadrian was not such a period. To well-born Romans of the time it must have seemed, in fact, rather an age of conservatism in religion, of revival and renewed adherence to the ancient and time-honored forms and practices — this, despite the ferment of Christianity working beneath the well-ordered surface of paganism, and, less obvious still, the more subtle virus of anti-rationalism that was sapping the strength of paganism at its core.

To provide a suitable focus for our survey, we may concentrate on the key figure of the age, Hadrian himself. The scant literary evidence can in part be supplemented by the evidence of coins and inscriptions, enabling us to form some idea of his religious policies and activities, if not, with any degree of satisfaction, of his personal religious feelings, so variously reflected both in his bold assertion of divinity and in the disarming candor of his *Animula vagula blandula*.

The character of Hadrian is notoriously complex and difficult to interpret. He was, in the words of the Augustan biography (14.11): “grave and gay, affable and dignified, impulsive and cautious, mean and generous, secretive yet open, cruel and gentle, and, in sum, consistent only in his inconsistency.” Granted even a measure of truth in this estimate of the man it is easy to see why the evidence should appear at times contradictory. Perhaps Tertullian (*Apol.* 5.7) was nearer to the truth in his characterization of Hadrian as a man of insatiable curiosity (*curiositatum omnium explorator*). Weber, if I understand him correctly, postulates a traumatic break in the emperor’s personality as the key to the apparent contradictions. Writing of the worship accorded him as a god on earth, he adds: “His despotic striving towards the divine in all the world, the self-enhancement of his mysterious power, its setting forth for show in the image of the

highest god of the Greeks and Romans, tokens of his intoxicating illusionism, offspring of his mystically dark imaginings ... dissipated themselves at last in an outbreak of insanity. When he grew calm again, he found that light pleasure in trivial pursuits, that self-irony and scepticism towards all human activities and human life which wholly alienated him, lonely though worshipped as he was, from men" (*CAH* XI, p. 306).

Be this as it may, two points are clear: that Hadrian himself set great importance on the religious aspects of his imperial program; and that he consciously took Augustus as his model, even to the extent of inviting comparison with his great predecessor.

Hadrian's concern with religion is illustrated both by his coinage and by his building program. The coinage of Trajan had stressed, to the point of monotony, that emperor's concern with military affairs and with the glorification of his conquests. The coinage of Hadrian, though almost bewildering in the number and variety of its types, is equally faithful in reflecting the main concerns and preoccupations of the ruler, and even a cursory survey of the types reveals the emphasis placed on religion throughout. While the emperor himself remains, directly or indirectly, the main focus of interest, this is achieved largely by the use of types relating either to his protecting deities or to the imperial virtues represented as divine personifications. Even when all due allowance is made for the tendentious and propagandistic element in this as in most imperial Roman coinage, one senses behind it all a genuine personal *mystique*, the conviction that by and through *his* person Divine Providence was acting to bless and prosper the Roman people and the peoples of the Empire.

The character of his extensive building program is perhaps even more convincing proof of the importance he attached to religion. The Life of Hadrian in the *Historia Augusta* records his building activities at Rome, Pausanias for some parts of Greece, and the list could readily be extended. Much of it consisted in the building, reconstruction, or adornment of temples and sanctuaries; and it is well to note that here at least self-glorification was not an overriding consideration, since the temples that he rebuilt at Rome continued to bear the name of the original donors. The Pantheon, with its inscription of Agrippa on the facade, is the most familiar example, but the *Life* testifies to the fact that this was his general practice.

Augustus, too, as is well known, in his attempt to revive Roman religion had relied heavily on the psychological effect of restoring the ruined temples of the long-neglected gods (Horace's *di neglecti*). Here Hadrian carried on the policy established by Augustus. Mattingly notes that the new imperial style, a simple HADRIANVS AVGVSTVS, adopted for the coinage in A.D. 125, not only marked a complete break with the preceding reign but is an explicit bid by Hadrian for recognition as the second founder of the Empire. Already he had, on a number of issues, proclaimed his reign as a new Golden Age, which through various coin-types was defined both with reference to the glorious age of Trajan, just past, and as a new Augustan Age of Gold. In creating the cult of Urbs Roma Aeterna, for which he built the great temple of Rome and Venus, Hadrian was both continuing and extending the Augustan policy; for while the Dea Roma was a favorite in Augustan art and Augustus had allowed himself to be worshipped only in conjunction with the goddess Roma (and only outside Italy), now for the first time the deified personification of the city received recognition in the official Roman pantheon. In lasting effect this was, perhaps, Hadrian's single most important innovation, for the Natalis Urbis Romae Aeternae on April 21st won and maintained its place in the official *fasti*, and the type of Roma Aeterna continues to appear on coins down to the end of the fourth century.

The writer of the *Life* seems also to have sensed another similarity in the religious programs of the two emperors. The one specific statement that he makes concerning Hadrian's religious attitude is that "He was extremely zealous in his concern for Roman cults, but despised those of foreign origin" (*sacra Romana diligentissime curavit, peregrina contempsit*, 22.10). The model for the statement is clearly the passage in Suetonius (*Aug.* 93) which states that Augustus, while respecting such foreign cults (*peregrinarum caerimoniarum*) as were ancient and traditional, held all others in contempt; accordingly, he adds, Augustus accepted initiation at Eleusis, but regarded the Egyptian Apis and the Jewish Temple at Jerusalem as unworthy of imperial notice. Intentionally or not, however, the biographer of Hadrian has failed to draw any such distinction, and on the face of it and in the light of the usage of Hadrian's own time (where *peregrinus* corresponds to "Ελλην on a bilingual inscription, IG II² 1099) we

should be forced to conclude that even the cults of Greece were comprised among the disapproved *sacra peregrina*! Whether the statement in this form was due merely to the biographer's stupidity or reflects the looser usage of the fourth century, long after the extension of citizenship to the whole empire, such a conclusion is absurd. Hadrian's philhellenism was so pronounced even in youth as to win him the nickname Graeculus. Five years before his accession he was made archon of Athens, the only private Roman citizen to hold such an honor. And as emperor he lost no opportunity to demonstrate his affection for Greece and for its religious institutions. He did much to re-establish the prestige of Delphi, received the double initiation at Eleusis, and at least temporarily brought to realization the age-old dream of making the Eleusinian Mysteries truly panhellenic. After completing the Olympieion at Athens he even assumed, or accepted, titles appropriate to Zeus, and was styled Olympios, Panhellenios, and Panionios. It is interesting to note that in an earlier Golden Age Rome's client princes had intended to complete the Olympieion and dedicate it to the Genius of Augustus. Here at least Hadrian went his predecessor one better!

So much is familiar. But we can go further. For while the coinage of Hadrian remains in general faithful to the normal and time-honored policy of ignoring foreign cults, including those long domiciled at Rome, and is silent even as to certain of Hadrian's known religious interests — Antinous, for example, and even Apollo —, still there are striking exceptions. The early types of a Spanish Minerva and of the Hercules of Gades, patron deities of his — and Trajan's — native Spain, hardly count here, nor need we press the use of Attis to symbolize Phrygia in the "province" series, nor an occasional piece like the scene of Isis and Sarapis welcoming Hadrian and Sabina to Alexandria in the "adventus" series. The real exception comes in the silver struck for the province of Asia, probably in connection with Hadrian's two visits to that region. Here the reverse types, commemorating the ancient cults of the chief religious centers of the province, provide a rare survey of the Asiatic temples and local gods — many of the latter in primitive idol forms barely touched by the transforming "interpretatio Graeca". As Mattingly notes, the series "illustrates Hadrian's sympathy with local pride and his enthusiasm for local interests". This seems right, and affords a necessary corrective to the narrow view of the biographer. Contempt and broad

tolerance do not usually go hand in hand. As head of the Roman state Hadrian went as far as Augustus, and perhaps even farther, in stressing the purely Roman character of official state religion. On the other hand he gave full rein to his personal interest in the cults of Greece, and demonstrated a sympathetic concern with the non-Hellenic cults of the East. If his approach seems somewhat compartmentalized, we cannot deny him credit for a personal catholicity of religious interest and the will to foster religion in all parts of the Empire.

If, further, we take into account his reconstruction of the Pantheon at Rome and the building of a "common sanctuary of the gods" at Athens, we might reasonably conjecture that in his personal view the Divine was essentially One, however different its several manifestations. This may be, too, the starting point for the late story (*Hist. Aug.* 18.43.6) that he had planned to accept Christ as one of the gods and even built temples to this end, temples that contained no images. In this sentiment, if we are justified in ascribing it to him, Hadrian was, as it were, merely the child of his age. For the idea of the divine unity was already a philosophic commonplace, which under the Empire gained wide acceptance. In Hadrian's case it would naturally be reinforced by his claim that as emperor he was the vice-regent of God on earth — a claim clearly proclaimed on the arch (certainly "Hadrianic" in spirit) set up at Beneventum in honor of Trajan, on his coinage, and, for the Greeks, by his assumption of the titles Olympios and Panhellenios.

Typical of the age too is his inability to appreciate the significance of Judaism and Christianity. On the Jews his attitude was undoubtedly colored by the trouble in Africa inherited from the final years of Trajan, but his ban on circumcision and the decision to build a sanctuary of Zeus on the site of the Temple at Jerusalem seem, in the light of history, a sure way of inviting disaffection and even rebellion. For his attitude to Christianity we have only the alleged rescript cited by Justin (*Apol.* 1.68) in his appeal to Antoninus Pius. It is probably genuine, but would prove at most, not a tolerance of Christians as such, but only a good Roman respect for law and an unwillingness to see alleged Christians condemned without due process and merely on the unsupported word of informers.

Finally, it seems likely that Hadrian was also the child of his age in another, less obvious respect. He of course shared the almost

universal belief in astrology, and was even reputed to be able to forecast his own fortunes for a whole year. According to Dio Cassius (69.11), his inquisitive mind led him to indulge in all sorts of divinations and magical quackeries, and it was even, Dio suggests, in connection with such occult practices that Antinous met his death, sacrificed as a voluntary victim to serve his master's experiments. The story may well be apocryphal, but if so it is "ben trovato" and seems strangely characteristic of the age, an age at once enlightened and grossly superstitious, an age that resembles our own in its self-contradictory tendencies. It was an age when Hellenism, with all its precious traditions, seemed secure and supreme. It was also the age when rationalism, the faith in the efficacy of human reason that was of the very essence of Hellenism, was rapidly losing ground. The second century was a crucial period for the future of the Western world. Learning in all its branches was avidly pursued, and it was this century that largely set and defined the content of a "liberal education" for the ensuing thousand years. The ancient cults of Greece and Rome were celebrated with renewed enthusiasm and pomp. Yet for all the seeming stability of traditional Hellenism the foundations on which it rested were crumbling. There was an increasing tendency to interpret divinity in terms of power rather than personality — a fact not perhaps without significance for the prominence on the coinage of personified abstractions, the so-called "imperial virtues". Men sought to tap this divine power for their own ends, and this, coupled with the waning confidence in mere human reason, led them to seek for truth through revelation. Religious revelation is an idea so familiar to us that we are apt to forget how alien it was to classical Greece. Hermetism, and the movements akin to it, claimed access through revelation not only to spiritual realities but to scientific truth as well, and astrology and the other occult sciences had, or professed to have, the authority of revealed truth. The lofty if somewhat muddy idealism of the theosophical Hermetic writings, which begin at about this time, should not blind us to this other side of the picture. Theurgy and occultism are not of course specifically Hadrianic phenomena. Their origins lie far back in the Hellenistic age. It was however the second century that brought them widespread acceptance, and this fact, perhaps too easily overlooked, is not the least of the many paradoxes that confront us in the Golden Age of Hadrian.

DIVINE KINGSHIP IN ANCIENT CHINA

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INTRODUCTION

For nearly three thousand years in China, until the abolition of the monarchy in 1911, the emperor was the focus of those ritual activities by which the prosperity and well-being of the whole empire were established from year to year. The ritual was designed to harmonize all human life and activities with the cosmic forces which governed heaven and earth, and, at the same time, it constituted an attempt to control the unpredictable elements of human experience.

From the earliest historical times the civilization of China was based on an agricultural economy¹), in which man's primary interests were concerned with birth and death, procreation and fertility, and the cycle of the seasons. Chinese tradition points to a primitive period in which hunting and fishing were man's principal means of livelihood²), but there is no mention of a nomadic stage. This accords with the archaeological evidence which reveals that in late Neolithic times the ancestors of the Chinese were already living in comparatively stable settlements, and cultivating the soil³). It is interesting, therefore, to compare the myth and ritual pattern of Chinese society in early times with that made familiar to us in studies mainly concerned with the Near East, and, in particular, with Egypt and the Mesopotamian sphere of cultural interest. Such a comparison leads us to believe that the concepts which lie behind the Chinese ritual differ fundamentally, in some respects

1) Cf. M. GRANET, *La Civilisation chinoise* (Paris 1929), (E. T. London 1930), p. 139; H. MASPERO, *Les Religions Chinoises* (Paris 1950), p. 19; K. S. LATOURETTE, *The Chinese, their history and culture* (London 1934), p. 34; R. GROSSET, *Histoire de la Chine* (Paris 1942), p. 9 f.

2) Cf. *The I King*, transl. by J. LEGGE (Oxford 1899), p. 382 ff. Also R. WILHELM, *A Short History of Chinese Civilization* (London 1929), p. 59.

3) H. G. CREEL, *The Birth of China* (London 1936), p. 43.

at least, from those which predominated in other civilizations, which were produced in response to the challenge of geographical environments similar to that obtaining in the valley of the Yellow River.

What H. Frankfort wrote concerning the Near East applies equally to the ancient civilization of China: "The ancient Near East considered kingship the very basis of civilization. Only savages could live without a king. Security, peace and justice could not prevail without a ruler to champion them" ⁴). Yet, as far as we know, the emperor of China was never thought of as a god, at least while he was still living on earth. The Chinese emperors, in status and function, approximated more nearly to the rulers of Mesopotamia than to those of Egypt. In Egypt, Pharoah was not mortal, but a god: "This was the fundamental concept of Egyptian kingship that Pharoah was of divine essence, a god incarnate" ⁵). Whereas, in China as in Mesopotamia, "the king was a mortal charged with the crushing burden of leading mankind..... Although his divine election endowed him with a potency surpassing that of ordinary men, it did not approximate him to the gods" ⁶). The Chinese emperor appears to have achieved a quasi-divine status after death, and to have become the object of worship and sacrifice in the ancient cult of ancestors. Though he was not a god, and did not represent a god in the ritual, he alone was given such titles as 'Son of Heaven', (T'ien tzu 天子), and 'unique man' (I jen — 人). The title 'son of Heaven' meets us frequently in the literature of the Western Chou period, early in the first millenium B.C. It does not seem to have implied the concept of 'divine' kingship. The king was entirely human, but he was the 'unique man'. As M. Granet writes ⁷), "S'il est saint, son titre de Fils du Ciel n'implique point qu'il soit pourvu de droit divin". It was by the appointment of Heaven that the king was conceived of as supreme regulator of 'all under Heaven' (T'ien hsia, 天下), and he was considered to stand in a peculiar and unique relationship to Heaven. As 'unique man' the quality of his character, his power or virtue, (te 德) was reflected in all the events and happenings, whether good or evil, within the territories over which

4) H. FRANKFORT, *Kingship and the Gods* (Chicago 1938), p. 3.

5) *Ibid.*, p. 5.

6) *Ibid.*, p. 295.

7) M. GRANET, *La Feodalité Chinoise* (Oslo 1952), p. 101.

he held sway, conceived of as being all within the pale of civilization. His influence was exercised, not only within the world of human affairs, but also over natural processes such as produced prosperity and calamity.

Because of his unique position and status, and his relationship to Heaven, the emperor alone could offer the supreme worship and sacrifice to High Heaven, (Hao T'ien 昊天, Huang T'ien 皇天 Huang T'ien Shang Ti 皇天上帝), and perform those ritual functions by which the favour of Heaven, Earth and the myriad spirits might be assured to the whole land.

Thus, as in other ancient civilizations, the rituals by which the favour of the gods was secured and prosperity assured were focussed in the person of the king. Yet, in China, the pattern of seasonal and symbolic rites which the king undertook to perform on behalf of the land and the people, though originating in a similar chthonic religion in which ancestor worship and fertility cults predominated, in its development seems to differ vastly from that made familiar to us in the writings of the Myth and Ritual school. There seem to be no dramatic representations of the death and rising of a god, no ritual combat to represent the victory of the god over his enemies, no sacred marriage, no triumphal procession in which the king played the role of a god, followed by a train of lesser gods and visiting deities. China had no equivalent of Osiris, Tammuz, Adonis, Astarte, Cybele, and Ceres. Nor does there seem to have developed in the official cult of China a pantheon of celestial deities such as we find in Indo-European religions. There is a parallel in 'Heaven' (T'ien 天) to the concepts of Varuna and Ouranos, but there seems to be no parallel in Chinese religion to the anthropomorphic gods of the Vedic religion in India: — Indra, Rudra, Mitra, Surya, Ushas, Agni —, nor to the personalized gods and goddesses of the Greek Olympus.

The sun and moon, rising and setting and making their orderly progress across the sky, were just as conspicuous in the bright, clear atmosphere of North China as they were in the Near East. The sun was just as potent in providing the light and heat by which men lived. There is evidence that gods, inhabiting the sun, moon and stars, were worshipped in early times in China. In Chinese mythology, the sun is the offspring of a female, Hsi Ho (羲和), who drove his chariot

across the sky harnessed to a team of six dragons. The divine archer, Shen I (神羿), said to have been a minister of the mythical emperor Yao (3rd Millenium B.C.), after performing great exploits, such as vanquishing the wind-god, shooting down nine false suns in the form of crows, and slaying various dangerous creatures, built for himself a solar palace, and became the ruling sovereign of the sun. He married Ch'ang O (嫦娥), sister of the water spirit. She, having stolen the elixir of immortality, went to live in the moon⁸). How far this mythology, current in the Han dynasty, reflects foreign influence, or how far it indicates the beliefs current among the early inhabitants of China we cannot now determine, as the orthodox Chinese literature practically ignores it. We know, however, that Ch'in Shih Huang Ti, in B.C. 219, offered sacrifices to eight great deities, and the Lord of the Sun (Jih Chu, 日主) and the Lord of the Moon (Yueh Chu, 月主) were included among them⁹). Furthermore, in poems of the late Chou and Han dynasties there are frequent descriptions of heavenly journeys in chariots drawn by dragons, following the orbit of the sun¹⁰), whilst of the six emblems depicted on the upper garment of the emperor's state robes, three depicted the sun, moon and stars¹¹). B. Laufer¹²), in discussing the jade symbols of sovereignty, and in particular the jade hammers and knives, writes, "I concur with Prof. de Groot in the opinion that these emblems were originally connected with some form of solar worship. In the Chou period only slight vestiges of this cult appear on the surface; the emblems themselves had then sunk into a more conventional and traditional, nay, an hieroglyphic use within the boundaries of the rigid official system... As these ceremonial insignia point back to primitive implements from which they were developed, so also the ideas as-

8) Cf. W. F. MAYERS, *Chinese Reader's Manual* (Shanghai 1874), pt. 1, No. 235; C. A. S. WILLIAMS, *Outlines of Chinese Symbolism* (Peking 1931), pp. 242, 347; E. T. C. WERNER, *Dict. of Chinese Mythology* (Shanghai 1932), articles: Hou I, Shen I, and Ch'ang O.

9) L. WIEGER, *Textes Historiques* (Hien-hien 1929), p. 211.

10) Cf. *The Poems of Ch'ü Yüan* (Chinese ed. Peking 1953), Ch'u Tz'u Chi Chu.

11) A. BULLING, *The Meaning of China's most ancient art*, Leiden 1952, p. 13.

12) B. LAUFER, *Jade, A Study in Chinese archaeology and religion* (S. Pasadena), p. 102.

sociated with them in the age of the Chou point to a more rudimentary and elementary form of symbolism and worship. The Chou emperor worshipped the sun by holding in his hands the hammer-shaped jade symbol of sovereignty. This means, in my opinion, that at a prehistoric age, a jade (or perhaps common stone) hammer was regarded as the actual image of the solar deity worshipped by the sovereign, and, I believe, that the burial of jade implements in the Chou period was as a last survival also connected with this ancient cult of the sun." It is reasonable to conclude that, in very early times in China, the sun and the moon were worshipped, but within historic times they were always considered to be inferior in status and dependent upon 'Heaven'. The concepts of a sun-god and a moon-god never seem to have played the conspicuous role in Chinese religion which they did in the somewhat similar agricultural civilizations of Egypt and Mesopotamia. China had no equivalent of the Egyptian concept of Ra.

Two main elements lie at the basis of Chinese religion: the cult of ancestors, and the belief in a cosmic order, of which man is only a small part and which he must learn to obey. The ritual pattern, focused in the person and functions of the emperor, is mainly concerned with them. They stem from the chthonic religion which seems to have been common to early man everywhere; the worship of earth deities, natural objects, natural powers and the spirits of deceased ancestors. By the time of the Shang dynasty (circum 1550-1050 B.C.), for which we have positive and reliable evidence¹³), not only was kingship well developed but the earlier chthonic religion had become greatly modified, possibly as a result of new learning which filtered into China from the West in the Early 3rd century of the 2nd millenium B.C., and which probably originated in Mesopotamia¹⁴). The supreme

13) Cf. H. G. CREEL, *Birth of China* (London 1936), pp. 57 ff.; *Studies in Early Chinese Culture* (1938), pp. 133 ff.

14) H. G. QUARITCH WALES, *The Mountain of God* (London 1953), p. 34: "The effective influence from the West reached China about the middle of the second millenium B.C. It may have been instrumental to the founding of the Shang capital Anyang."

p. 38: "That a new religion, as part of a cultural pattern originating in Mesopotamia, was introduced to the Yellow River basin in the middle of the second millenium B.C. is the thesis that I now have to advance. This religion was the cult of the Earth, in very much the same abstract form it had in Mesopotamia, at least before the rise of Babylon."

p. 40: "Then, perhaps through the infiltration of later astral aspects of Meso-

god was conceived of as dwelling above, and the ancestor spirits were thought of as residing in Heaven.

Before going on to discuss the origin and the rise of kingship in China, it is necessary to examine into the prehistoric chthonic religion which continued to exert an influence upon the ritual throughout historic times, and which had a vital connection with the religious status and functions of the king. As far back as we can trace in China the cult of ancestor was linked to the worship of an earth deity, the protective gods of the home, and with nature spirits associated with the

potamian religion, and certainly accentuated about the Vth century B.C. by the influence of Western planetary cosmology, it seems probable that the Chou ancestor was transferred to the sky. There, as a celestial, instead of a merely earthly ancestor, he was identified with some star in the circumpolar region. And the sky also, under the new influences, became the home of the dead, though the old idea, associated with the cult of the Earth, of a home of the dead underground, still lingered on."

The writer is inclined to believe that the astral aspects of Chinese religion are much earlier than the Vth century B.C., and, indeed, go back to at least the Shang dynasty, about the middle of the second millenium B.C. Though, as CREEL writes (*Studies in Early Chinese Culture*, p. 56), "the deity Heaven is absolutely foreign to Shang culture", the oracle bone inscriptions witness to the fact that in Shang times the ancestors of the ruler were conceived of as living above, and a supreme deity, living above, called Ti (帝) was worshipped. In this connection, cf. the able discussion of the use of the word Ti (帝) on the oracle bone inscriptions recorded by Sun Hai P'o (孫海波) in his *Chia Ku Wen Pien* (甲骨文編) by Fu Ssu Nien (傅斯年) in his *Hsing Ming Ku Hsün Pien Cheng*, (性命古訓辨證) Vol. 2. pp. 4 ff. (Chinese text. Shanghai, 1947).

Cf. also Kuo Mo Jo, (郭沫若) *Chia Ku Wen Tzu Yen Chiu*, (甲骨文字研究) chapter on Shih Chih Kan (釋支干) (Chinese text Peking, 1952), for a discussion of Mesopotamian influence on Chinese astral religion.

Cf. H. G. CREEL, *Studies*, p. 251, for an account of Early cultural influence from the West.

For early astral religion in China, cf. DE SAUSSANE, *Les Origines de l'Astronomie Chinoise* (Paris 1930).

H. CHATLEY, Art. *Ancient Chinese Astronomy* in the *Asiatic Review*, Jan. 1918. *The Reprint, The China Society*.

Also, Art. *The Date of the Hsia Calendar*, *Hsia Hsiao Cheng*, *J. R. A. S.*, Oct. 1938.

Cf. also A. BULLING, *The Meaning of China's Most Ancient Art* (Leiden 1952), p. 105.

hills and rivers, the grain and the wild animals¹⁵). "The farther we go back in our investigation of Chinese religion", writes Creel, "and the greater the part played by ancestors"¹⁶). The evidence from neolithic sites reveals that the Chinese, in common with other peoples, had a belief in some form of survival after death. The earth seems to have been thought of as the earliest home of the dead, and it was within the earth that there existed those generative forces which produced the plants and animals on which man sustained and nourished himself throughout life. The vital force, which man felt within himself, came from the earth, lived on the earth, and at death returned to the earth to mingle again with the generative power from which it sprang. For some time after death the vital force might linger near the corpse which had been for so long its home, but, as the corpse disintegrated, the 'soul' must inevitably return to the 'Yellow Springs'¹⁷), that mysterious source of creative energy down in the earth. The cult of ancestors and the fertility cults seem to have had a common origin, as B. Karlgren has argued¹⁸), the early symbols used to depict ancestors, tsu (祖), and earth altars, she (社), being originally written without the determinative shih

15) The protective gods of the home were associated with the inner court, the hearth, the inner doors, the outer gates and the well. Cf. E. CHAVANNES, *Le T'ai Chan* (Paris 1910), p. 438. „Le *tchong lieou* (中 雷) était l'une des cinq divinités familiales (五 祀) auxquelles on rendait un culte dans l'antiquité, les quatre autres étant: le fourneau (竈) dans lequel brûle le feu domestique, le puits (井) où réside le génie de l'eau, la porte extérieure (門) et les portes intérieures (戶) dont les dieux veillent aux rites de passage qui protègent toute enceinte."

For the prominence of animals in the early religion of the Chinese cf. DE SAUSSANE, *Art in T'oung Pao*, 1909, p. 264. LAUFER, *Jade: A Study in Chinese Archaeology, and Religion* (S. Pasadena), p. 182. C. A. S. WILLIAMS, *Outlines of Chinese Symbolism* (Peking 1931), pp. 382, 286, 62.

For tree worship: WILLIAMS, *op. cit.*, 374; BULLING, *op. cit.*, 109, 112 ff. For mountains: BULLING, *op. cit.*, pp. 57 and 66; CHAVANNES, *Le T'ai Chan* (Paris 1910), pp. 27 ff.

16) H. G. CREEL, *The Birth of China* (London 1936), p. 174.

17) The Yellow Springs are frequently referred to in Chinese literature as the home of the departed. Cf. the proverbial saying, 'We will not see each other again till we reach the Yellow Springs.' (不 及 黃 泉 無 相 見 也).

18) B. KARLGREN, *Bul. Museum Far Eastern Antiquities* (Stockholm 1930), part 2, pp. 1-54.

(示), and depicting a phallic emblem, source of potency and generative power. (𡗗 𡗗). M. Granet believed that, in ancient times the Chinese conceived of the earth as feminine. "Earth itself appeared to be a Mother, giving fertility to women and receiving it from them. Thus there was a period when the earth which had been inhabited and claimed had none but female attributes. Organization was then almost entirely matriarchal. Then, when the husbandmen, in creating agnatic institutions, became masters of cultivation, the spirit of the soil seemed to be endowed with masculine traits" ¹⁹). He, too, emphasises the close connection between the cult of ancestors and the fertility cults. "La substance du mort pénétrait dans le Sol familial. Il se désincarnait près du coin sombre où l'on conservait les semences qui, mises en terre, germèrent; et, dans ce même coin, était disposée la couche conjugale où les femmes concevaient des vies nouvelles. Elles imaginaient alors que leur conception était l'oeuvre des Puissances fécondes qui émanaient du Sol domestique, que dans le Sol même avait germé la vie qu'elles sentaient croître en elles, et qu'enfin l'entant qui leur venait avait pris sa substance dans la substance même des aïeux. La croyance s'établit que des principes de vie flottaient dans le coin sombre où les aïeux s'étaient désincarnés: toute naissance parut être une réincarnation d'ancêtre" ²⁰).

We would suggest that, from very early times, the Chinese thought of the earth as possessing feminine traits, but that it was not so much the earth that was worshipped as the spirit of potency by which the earth was made fruitful. This mysterious spiritual potency was evidenced both in man and in natural phenomena, and particularly in the process of growth and productivity. At first the gods that were worshipped were sexually undifferentiated, but later the concept of 'lords of the soil', 'lords of the grain' and 'divine ancestors' grew up. The earth was still thought of as holding in her womb the essential spirit of potency. On this question we might quote Dr. D. C. Graham, "the conception of a mysterious potency, often more or less vague and undefined, but none the less real, is the primary key to the interpretation of the popular religion of the Chinese people, which has come

¹⁹) M. GRANET, *Chinese Civilization* (London 1930), p. 172.

²⁰) M. GRANET, *La Religion des Chinois* (Paris 1951, p. 23. In this connection it is interesting to read the whole chapter on *La Religion Paysanne*.

down to us through the past milleniums, and that its philosophical interpretation has been worked out in the conception and doctrines of yin and yang and feng shui" 21).

One point should be noted. In China there developed no great feminine deities associated with fecundity, such as we find in the Near East, in Astarte, Cybele, Ceres etc. Thus H. Maspero writes 22), "Le dieu du Sol était la terre divinisée, mais pas à la manière de Cybele et des déesses-mères de l'Orient méditerranéen. On peut concevoir de deux façons la terre divinisée: ou bien comme la glèbe productrice de récoltes, et on en fait une terre-mère nourricière comme les peuples de l'Asie Antérieure; ou bien comme un territoire délimité soumis à un prince et sur lequel vivent des hommes, et on en fait un dieu protecteur du domaine princier et de ses habitants. C'est de cette manière que l'ont conçue les Chinois; et c'est pourquoi, à la différence des populations méditerranéennes, ils font de la terre un dieu et non une déesse." In both east and west, the spirit of vegetation was distinguished from the earth itself; *Mot* of the *Ras Shamra* texts, the Phrygian *Atys*, correspond to the 'Prince Millet' (Hou Chi 戶稷) of ancient China, as symbolizing the fruitage of the earth, but there the similarity seems to end. In China, the worship of Hou Chi, who was also thought of as the divine ancestor of the Chou dynasty, was associated with the worship of the patron gods of the soil, which took place, in particular at the spring and autumn festivals. The beautiful poem in the *Shih Ching*, which recounts the legend of Hou Chi 23) speaks of his divine conception, his wondrous birth, his exposure, as an infant, to the elements and the protection afforded by animals and birds, and his gift to mankind of the products of husbandry. But there is no reference at all either to a cycle of death, disembodiment, burial and resurrection, or to sexual relations with feminine divinities associated with the earth by which the cycle of nature and the recurrence of fertility were symbolically depicted in Near Eastern religions.

The desire for fertility in man and beast, the desire for abundant

21) D. C. GRAHAM, art. *Mysterious potency in the Chinese Religion*, *Chinese Recorder*, April 1929, p. 235.

22) H. MASPERO, *Mélanges posthumes*, Vol. I: *Les Religions Chinoises*, (Paris 1950), p. 21.

23) *The Book of Poetry*, *Shih Ching*, pt. 3, bk. 2, no. 1.

harvests from productive fields, was as strong in China as elsewhere. The concern for fertility is evidenced throughout their writings. No people has been more concerned to ensure offspring, and especially the continuance of the male line. Yet there is a remarkable absence of erotic cults designed to stimulate fertility.

In ancient Chinese religion the god of the soil seems to have held a position of paramount importance, and as a hierarchical structure of society developed each territorial unit had its own 'god of the soil' whose importance varied according to the size and importance of the territories over which he exercised control. As Chavannes writes ²⁴), "Le dieu du sol est la personnification des énergies qui résident dans le sol. Chaque parcelle de sol a son dieu qui lui appartient en propre; mais la division du sol, étant déterminée par les groupements humains qui l'occupent, varie suivant l'extension de ces groupements; à ces répartitions diverses du territoire correspond toute une hiérarchie de dieux du sol". Though all the earth was considered sacred, a special spot was chosen on which a mound was erected, but not only a mound but a tree was required to represent the god. Thus Chavannes writes ²⁵), "Le culte du dieu du sol n'exigeait pas seulement la présence d'un autel en terre; il lui fallait aussi un arbre." And again ²⁶), "Dans la haute antiquité, l'arbre est chose essentielle sur l'autel du dieu du sol; bien plus, rien ne le distingue du dieu du sol lui-même; il est le dieu du sol. N'est-ce pas en effet dans l'endroit où s'élève un arbre de belle venue que sont concentrées toutes les vertus créatrices et nourricières du sol? Cet arbre ne jaillit-il pas du sein de la terre comme la vivante expression de sa fécondité?" The *Shuo Wen* mentions an ancient form of the ideograph for the earth mound, *she* (社) as 社, showing that on the *she* altar a tree (木), suited to the type of soil, was planted. The philosopher Mo tzu writes, "Formerly in the time of the sacred kings of the three dynasties, when they first founded their kingdoms and established their capitals, they selected a site for the principal earth altar of the kingdom, erected the ancestral temple, and chose luxuriant trees to make a sacred grove" ²⁷).

24) CHAVANNES, *op. cit.*, p. 437.

25) CHAVANNES, *op. cit.*, p. 466.

26) CHAVANNES, *op. cit.*, p. 471.

27) Mo tzu, *Chinese text. Sun Yi Jang's ed. in the Wan Yu Wen K'u*, Vol. 2, p. 151 (黑子閒話, by 詒孫讓).

Quaritch Wales suggests the possibility of Mesopotamian influence, and writes that "the representation of the Chinese god of the soil by mound and tree corresponds quite closely to Mesopotamian representations of Enlil and Tammuz ²⁸).

The gods of the soil were numerous. Each homestead had its own god of the soil who presided over the family possessions. These homesteads came to be grouped into villages or cantonments, ideally supposed to consist of twenty five families, and each of these groups had its 'god of the soil'. Above these were the feudal fiefs, and each territorial chief not only had an earth mound at which the god of his own family acres was worshipped, but another of greater significance, erected for the worship of the god who presided over the feudal domains. Into this mound a sod was incorporated which the feudal lord had received from the king at the time of his investiture. Finally, within the precincts of the imperial palace there was an altar to the god who was deemed to afford protection to the whole land. Thus, in the developed society of the Chou dynasty the gods of the homestead, the village, the fief and the empire formed a divine hierarchy corresponding to the human hierarchy on which it was superimposed. The sign of the complete extirpation of a feudal house was that its tree was cut down, and the mound built over so that it could no longer receive the beneficent influences of nature.

THE ORIGIN AND RISE OF KINGSHIP IN ANCIENT CHINA

Although Chinese tradition would place the origin of kingship away back in the third millenium B.C., and would attribute the beginnings of dynastic rule to Yü the Great, who founded the Hsia dynasty in 1989 B.C., we have no certain evidence of the establishment of a recognised kingship over a group of related tribes and clans before the Shang dynasty (circum 1558-1051 B.C.). Chinese tradition may not be far wrong, for the archaeological evidence from the An Yang excavations ²⁹) reveal that the Shang were already possessed of a highly developed bronze-age civilization, with such a well-developed written language, such a high degree of artistic expression and technical

28) QUARITCH WALES, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

29) Cf. H. C. CREEL, *Birth of China*, bk. 2; *Studies*, pp. 16 ff.

achievement as pre-supposes several hundred years of development³⁰). Thirty names of Shang dynasty kings are listed in Ssu Ma Ch'ien's *Historical Records*, and as Chavannes has shown, Ssu Ma Ch'ien used the *Bamboo Records* as a source and considered them trustworthy. Scholars have identified twenty five of these names on the Shang Oracle bones, and thus we have contemporary evidence of the existence of a long line of Shang kings³¹). The early Shang kings, and indeed the Chou Dynasty kings who followed them, differed widely in status and function from the emperors of the Han dynasty who arose after Ch'in Shih Huang Ti had unified the empire in 221 B.C. We must not be misled by Han dynasty scholars, who with perfectly sincere motives attributed to the earliest dynasties the concepts of kingship, and the elaborate ceremonial and ritual with which they themselves were familiar³²). We know that the territories ruled over by the Shang hegemony were very limited in extent, and that right down to the middle of the 1st. millenium B.C., 1,000 years after the establishment of the Shang dynasty, the Chinese were not only exercised with the conquest of barbarian tribes on the borders, but that numerous tribes of the *Jung, I, Ti and Man*, regarded by the Chinese as uncivilized and barbarian, were living in territories closely adjacent to those over which the Chinese exercised control. The Chinese clans seem to have been distinguished from the barbarians in that the former possessed a common language, similar customs and habits, a common religion, and acknowledged the suzerainty of a supreme head³³). Furthermore the Book of Poetry (Shih Ching) pictures for us the early chieftains of the Chou dynasty pioneering with their clans into new territories and clearing the forests and swamps in order to establish their encampments on virgin soil³⁴).

The title given to the Shang ruler and to the early kings of the Chou dynasty was that of Wang (王), probably nothing more, in the first instant, than a pictograph of a man, standing or sitting in

30) FU SSU NIEN, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 20.

31) Cf. L. C. HOPKINS, *Art. Sovereigns of the Shang Dynasty*, *J.R.A.S.* 1917, pp. 69 ff.

32) Cf. M. GRANET, *Chinese Civilization* (London 1930), pp. 378 ff.

33) Cf. the numerous references in the *Shih Ching*, the *Shu Ching* and the *Tso Chuan* to the fighting against and assimilation of barbarian tribes.

34) Cf. especially the poems of the *Shih Ching* (pt. 3, book 1), Poems 3, 7 and 10.

a dignified position in ceremonial robes. As defined by later Chinese scholars the name signified a supreme ruler to whom all under Heaven (T'ien hsi: 天下) gave allegiance. The king was the one (一) by whom Heaven, Earth and Man (depicted by three strokes 三) were united. As he appears in the Shang dynasty, the supreme ruler won his position by force of arms and right of conquest, even as Chinese tradition records that T'ang, the founder of the dynasty, seized the throne by leading his followers to victory over the Hsia. The king established and maintained his position by means of alliances with the practically automatus clans which formed the Chinese hegemony³⁵). Shang society was based upon a clan structure, with classified kinship groups, and fraternal inheritance³⁶). It is probably quite true, as Granet maintains, that the concept of the kings being great masters of an national religion is entirely false, yet the contemporary evidence of the oracle bone inscriptions, and the archaeological finds which date from the Shang era, reveal that the king exercised important religious functions, which were considered essential for the well-being of the state. The primary duty of the king, in ancient times, and indeed of every territorial magnate, was that of preserving the prosperity of the land by means of acts of semi-magical nature, of ensuring the regular succession of the seasons, and maintaining a harmonious relationship between Heaven, Earth and man.

The oracle bone inscriptions³⁷) bear abundant testimony to the fact

35) Exogamous marriage seems to have been characteristic of the Chinese from earliest times. Young people bearing the same clan name could not marry. Marriage was a means of cementing relationships between various clans, and among the aristocracy tended to have great political significance. Cf. GRANET, *Chinese Civilization*, pp. 155 ff.

36) E. S. KIRBY, *Introd. to the Economic History of China* (London 1954), pp. 52-3.

37) Numerous works on the Oracle Bones have been written by Chinese scholars, notably by Lo Chen Ju and Tung Tso-Pin. For an account of the most important up to the time when his own work was published in 1938, see H. G. CREEL, *Studies in Early Chinese Cultures*, pp. 1-16. One of the most comprehensive is that of Sun Hai P'o (孫海波) called *Chia Ku Wen Pien* (甲骨文編). Since the war there has been a great development in archaeological research both by scholars in China and Formosa. *The Chan Hou Ching Chin Hsin Huo Chia Ku Chi* (戰後京津新獲甲骨集) and the *殷虛文字綴合* Yin Hsü Wen Tzu Chiu Ho have been

that the art of divining was considered of paramount importance, and for that purpose specialists in the art were appointed by the king and were associated with the court. They had the task of ascertaining, on all occasions, the will of the spirits of the royal ancestors, and the host of spiritual beings which took a keen interest in human affairs. On the other hand, the numerous characters connected with sacrifice, together with the sacrificial bronzes of superb workmanship, and of manifold and intricate design and use, which were produced during this period, bear witness to a highly developed sacrificial ritual, in which the king himself was the prime actor.

Of the mortuary faith current at this period we have meagre evidence, but such as it is it has a high significance. The excavation of numerous tombs of the Shang dynasty, several of which are believed to be royal, indicates that, at least among the aristocracy, there was not only a belief in some sort of life after death, but the conviction that the deceased king maintained a rank and status at least as exalted as that which he enjoyed in life. "The construction of one of the royal tombs", writes Creel³⁸) was no mean task. The beginning was the digging of a pit, in the case of the largest tomb forty three feet deep, and sixty five feet square... At the bottom of the pit a wooden tomb-chamber was constructed, about ten feet high and a little smaller than the bottom of the pit itself. The walls of this chamber were decorated, in places with almost incredibly fine carvings, in others with polychrome painted designs. Then the funeral was held, the body and other objects were put in place, and the whole excavation, every inch of the way to the surface, was filled with pounded earth..... The funeral was probably accompanied by the sacrifice of many human beings. It was, altogether, a ceremony not unfitting the passing of a king, and the inauguration of a royal ancestral deity". Accordingly there seems to be no doubt that, very early in Chinese history, the king exercised unique ritual functions which, on account of their importance to the welfare of all the people, gave to his person a semi-divine

published in Peking. For a study of some of the important questions raised by the oracle bone inscriptions see Kuo Mo Jo (郭沫若) *Chia Ku Wen Tzu Yen Chu* (甲骨文字研究). A periodical, the *K'ao Ku Hsüeh Pao*, (考古學報), devoted to archaeology, is published in Peking.

38) H. G. CREEL, *The Birth of China*, p. 177.

status, and that after death, he was honoured and worshipped as a divine being.

The religious acts of the king ensured the regularity of the seasons and the productivity of the soil, together with the fertility of crops and animals. In the environment of those early Chinese, nature was, on the whole, beneficent. The rich loess soil and the alluvial deposit of the great rivers were extraordinarily fertile. But the area was always subject to two major catastrophies, — floods and drought. The cosmic order, though usually dependable, was liable at times to catastrophic breakdowns. Among the earliest references in the *Book of History* mention is made of wide-scale flood³⁹). The emperor Yü, traditionally the first dynastic ruler, won his throne because of his success in flood and river control, while the myth of Shen Yi, (神羿) minister of Yao, (堯) shooting nine of the ten suns which were scorching the earth, reveals the great concern felt by the early Chinese in regard to the periodic droughts⁴⁰). Men might work on the land with skill and energy, but if the spring rains failed, or the summer brought disastrous floods, all their efforts were of no avail. They needed, in the person of their ruler, one who by virtue of his power and wisdom, and the efficacy of his prayers to the spirits, would prove a successful mediator.

The important religious functions which gave to the ruler his unique ritual status included the task of observing the movements of the heavenly bodies, and from them promulgating the calendar for the guidance and control of the seasonal activities of the people. These duties were performed on behalf of the ruler by a class of specially selected 'wise men'. Thus we are informed⁴¹) that the emperor Yao "commanded Hsi and Ho, reverently in accord with the will of Heaven, to calculate and represent the progress of the sun, moon and stars, so as to promulgate with care and reverence the appropriate times for men's work". In these functions of the ruler we see, perhaps, evidence that in still more primitive times the tribal ruler exercised an authority in virtue of his being wise man, astrologer, sorcerer,

39) J. LEGGE, *The Chinese Classics* (Hongkong 1865 ff.), Vol. 3, pt. 1, pp. 24-25.

40) Cf. E. C. WERNER, *Dict. of Chinese Mythology* (Shanghai 1932), p. 418.

41) J. LEGGE, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, pt. 1, p. 18.

diviner and calendar-maker. This may have led to the belief, which meets us again and again in the literature of the Chou dynasty, that there was a golden age in the past, ruled over by sage kings of consummate virtue and wisdom, for the king, in early China, probably owed his unique position as much to the fact that he was the 'wise man' of his tribe, as to the fact that he was prime leader in war.

The tradition recording the accession of Shun, (舜) to be found in the *Book of History* ⁴²⁾, is of great interest as indicating that the succession was not hereditary in the most ancient times. According to that tradition, the emperor Yao asked his ministers to seek for a suitable candidate to succeed him. His own son was first suggested, and then the great minister of public works, but both were rejected. The chief of the princes was offered the throne but declined it. Then the whole assembly of ministers suggested Shun, a comparatively obscure man, bringing evidence of his outstanding virtue. After carefully testing Shun, the emperor, on the first day of the new year, handed over the administration to him before the tablet of his first ancestor. Shun thereupon began to perform his first duties as emperor. These were concerned with astronomy. Thereupon, he performed the *lei* (類) sacrifice to Shang Ti, worshipped the six (other) ancestor spirits whose tablets were set up in the ancestral shrine, together with the gods who presided over the mountains and rivers. Though this tradition comes to us from the Chou dynasty, when the glorification of the past was linked to a tendency to moralize history, it contains points of great interest.

In the first place, it hardly seems possible that the story was just 'invented' by court annalists and recorders of the W. Chou period, without having any basis at all in tradition, especially when we remember that hereditary succession became the rule, once the Chou rulers became firmly established over a feudalistic hierarchy. The apologists for the Chou kings had to prove that their displacement of the Shang dynasty was morally justifiable and in accordance with the will of Heaven. This seems to be, accordingly, the main theme of the early books of the *Shu Ching*. The Chou had risen to power from comparative obscurity. Such an event could only be explained as due to the

42) J. LEGGE, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, pt. 1, pp. 23-27.

'Mandate of Heaven' having fallen upon them, just as, long before, Heaven had raised the obscure Shun to the throne because of its concern for the well-being of the whole people.

The narrative also reveals, not only the paramount importance of the cult of ancestors, but the central position of the king in a state ritual, in which the worship of Heaven and the host of spiritual beings was accompanied by an extraordinary interest in celestial phenomena, which were deemed to have a profound influence upon the seasonal life and activities of the people. The calendar was therefore of the utmost importance, endowed with religious significance and was the responsibility of the ruler.

M. Granet argues, from the fact that in the period of the Ch'un Ch'in, (circum 720-480 B.C.) the different war-lords did not use a single calendar system, that this important function only appertained exclusively to the Son of Heaven in later times, i.e. the Han dynasty ⁴³). But is it not possible that, in the period of the breakdown of centralized authority, the various feudal lords abrogated to themselves a privilege which had been considered the more exclusive prerogative of the king in an earlier period when he had been powerful enough to exert his suzerainty over the Chinese hegemony?

Though there seems to be no direct evidence of any custom, in ancient China, by which the king was slain when his physical powers began to decline, this tradition regarding Shun does seem to indicate that the aged king was forced to abdicate in favour of a younger man, usually chosen from among the leading nobility. Kingship did not proceed from father to eldest son until well after the establishment of the Chou dynasty. It was disputed among the leading nobles, and, in the case of Shun, a comparative outsider seized the power. The records seem to confirm this, for they speak of a serious rebellion breaking out, instigated by the highest ministers of the aged king ⁴⁴). Shun put down the rebellion and banished the chief instigators.

Soon after Shun entered upon his duties as king, we are told that he "thereupon performed the *lei* (類) sacrifice to Shang Ti" ⁴⁵).

43) M. GRANET, *Chinese Civilisation*, p. 382.

44) J. LEGGE, *op. cit.*, vol. 3, p. 1, p. 39.

45) J. LEGGE, *ibid.*, p. 33. (Note: Legge translates: "Thereafter, he sacrificed specially, but with the ordinary forms, to God; sacrificed purely to the six

This *lei* sacrifice seems to have been of a special nature, and was probably performed by each new king soon after his accession, the successful conclusion of the sacrifice denoting that he had been accepted and approved by the first and chief of the ancestor spirits, the chief God of the Chinese pantheon, Shang Ti (上帝). The character *lei* (類) is significant in that it is composed of three distinctive elements which suggest that, in this sacrifice, human beings were offered up, together with animals and the produce of the land. One constituent of that character is *mi* (米), a character used for rice, and for other grains such as maize and millet and even grasses. *Ch'uan* (犬) is a character believed to bear a resemblance to a dog, and is the indicator of a group of characters related to wild beasts. *Yeh* (頁), in its original form written *shou* (首) meaning 'head', over *jen* (人), meaning 'man', suggests that human sacrifice was part of the ritual. One might even throw out the suggestion that, in this component of the character *lei* (類), we have an indication, however, slight, that in very ancient times the aged king, who was head over the state, was actually sacrificed by his successor when declining vigour made him unfit to rule.

The question as to whether or not in the pre-Chou era before 1050 B.C. the Chinese had attained to a concept of a supreme deity, as was later designated by the terms T'ien (天) and Shang Ti (上帝) is still being debated. The belief held by many early sinologists that there was an early monotheism in China, subsequently lost, is to-day untenable. H. G. Creel believes that Heaven (*T'ien*, 天) was the supreme god of the Chous and was introduced by them into the religion of China. "I have shown," he writes, "that the character T'ien, as such, does not occur in the Shang oracle bone inscriptions, and that the deity T'ien had no part in Shang religion. It apparently originated among the Chou people and was brought east by them at the time of the conquest."⁴⁶) Again he writes, "Furthermore, the deity

honoured ones; offered their appropriate sacrifices to the hills and rivers; and extended his worship to the host of spirits." He comments on *lei* as denoting a sacrifice offered to the Highest, on an extraordinary occasion.)

⁴⁶) H. G. CREEL, *Studies*, p. 51.

Heaven is absolutely foreign to Shang culture.”⁴⁷⁾ Fu Ssu Nien argues⁴⁸⁾ that we cannot deduce from the absence of the word on the oracle bones, which are a highly specialized class of inscriptions dealing with divining the will of ancestor spirits, that the name and the concept were not used in Shang times. He claims that the Chou owed their culture to the Shang and with it their religion. He has made a thorough study of the use of the term *ti* (帝) on oracle bone inscriptions in 64 instances recorded by Sun Hai P’o in his *Chia Ku Wen Pien*, and comes to the conclusion that *ti* was used for the apotheosized royal ancestors and tribal gods, preceded usually by a name prefix, but that in 25 instances the word *ti* is used by itself, and clearly indicates the concept of a supreme *ti* who dwelt above in Heaven. In 17 other cases the word is used as a verb, to sacrifice, equivalent to the character *ti* (禘). The supreme *ti* was called upon for rain and good harvests. He sent punishment in the form of death and famine. He could grant his approval, bestow protection, and was clearly thought of as lord over all the other *ti* whether godlings or the spirits of former kings. Later this *ti* was equated with *t’ien* and received the sacrifice *ti* (禘). The word *shang* (上) was added, and under that name, *Shang Ti* (上帝), he was worshipped by the Chou.

It is an interesting and curious fact that in the early Chou literature, though the ancestry of the royal house is traced back to *Shang Ti*, the emperor is never referred to as the son of *Shang Ti*, but only as ‘Son of Heaven’ (*T’ien tzu*, 天子).

THE CONCEPT OF KINGSHIP UNDER THE CHOU

The ancient Shang hegemony gave place to the Chou dynasty about 1050 B.C. The Chou won their throne through military prowess and gradually established an hereditary succession, the kingship descending from father to son in a direct line. The earlier clan system of the Shang was absorbed into a feudal system, with a hierarchy of feudal relationships, and a family structure in which authority and loyalty tended to carry greater weight than love and affection. Respect for

47) *Ibid.*, p. 56.

48) Fu Ssu NIEN, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 8.

age and ancestry developed. There was a high degree of centralized authority which went hand in hand with a devolution of functions. This social pattern was reflected in the religious concepts. It was during this early Chou period that the concept of an over-ruling Heaven became dominant, below which a host of spiritual beings had their appropriate places and functions in a transcendental hierarchy. In the early Chou literature Heaven is depicted as the supreme power, 'T'ien' (天), always thought of in the singular, and described as possessing many human attributes. Thus Heaven is compassionate, (*Shu Ching*, Pt. 5: 14, 2; *Shih Ching*, Pt. 2: 4, 10; Pt. 2: 5, 1.), he sends down prosperity, (*Shih*, Pt. 4: 3, 2.) is often terrible and angry, sending down ruin, (*Shih*, Pt. 2: 3, 11; Pt. 3: 3, 3; Pt. 3: 2, 10.). He gives birth to the people, (*Shih*, Pt. 3: 3, 1; Pt. 3: 3, 6) is father and mother of the people, (*Shih*, Pt. 2: 5, 4.) but is, in a special sense, the parent of the ruler (*Shih*, Pt. 2: 5, 3.).

Chinese scholarship has always tended to follow the *Shuo Wen* in explaining the character T'ien (天) in abstract terms, as an ideograph depicting what is above (—) man (大), but L. C. Hopkins and other western scholars have shown that the earliest known forms of the characters are pictograms representing the human form, (𡗗 𡗘 𡗙 𡗚 𡗛 𡗜). "It is submitted", writes Hopkins, "that this is an anthropomorphic design of a deity, perhaps conceived of as an apotheosized ancestor; at any rate the representation of God made in the image of man"⁴⁹). The altar for the worship of Heaven was never enclosed in a temple, but was open to the sky, and was round to symbolize heaven. This altar was never called the altar of Shang Ti, but always the altar of Heaven (T'ien). The ruler became the regent of Heaven upon earth, called the 'son of Heaven', and he alone was deemed worthy and adequate to render fitting worship to Heaven.

As the Chou ritual for the worship of Heaven and all the cosmic forces was elaborated, it absorbed into itself the rituals of more ancient times connected with ancestor worship and the fertility cults, and the place of the king in the ritual grew more and more important. The

49) Cf. L. C. HOPKINS, *Art. Pictorial Reconnaissances*, in *J.R.A.S.*, 1917, p. 774. See also H. G. CREEL, *Studies*, p. 97, note 2.

Ti (帝) who was the emperor's first ancestor, conceived of as a spiritual being dwelling in Heaven, became Shang Ti (上帝) and was equated with Heaven, (T'ien, 天) There are texts in the *Shih Ching* in which the two terms seem to be synonymous, e.g. the following passages:

"The people now amidst their perils
Look to Heaven (T'ien) all dark,
But let Heaven once determine,
And there is nothing it will not overcome.
There is the great God, (Shang Ti)
Does he hate anyone? ⁵⁰⁾"

"How vast is Heaven (T'ien), sovereign over all the people. Impetuous and haughty is God, (Shang Ti). He decrees many punishments. Heaven gave birth to the people, but their nature is undependable. All are good (at first), but few are able to remain so to the end. ⁵¹⁾"

In the period of the Western Chou (1050-771 B.C.), there seemed every likelihood that the status of the living king might be elevated so that he would come to be thought of as a 'god', to be accorded divine worship. Several legends became current which told of how the earliest kings were conceived by the direct operation of some divine being. *Hou Chi* (后稷), the god of the millet, was proclaimed the divine ancestor of the Chou kings, so that divine blood flowed in their veins ⁵²⁾. Chinese mythology records the names several gods who were worshipped as patron gods of the soil and harvests, and known collectively as the *She Chi* (社稷). They included *Shen Nung* (神農), *Chu* (柱), *Ch'i* (棄), *Shu Chun* (叔均), and *Yin Hung* (殷洪) as well as *Hou Chi* (后稷). They were, in all probability, the agricultural gods of the various tribes which made up the Chinese hegemony, and Hou Chi was the grain god of the Chou,

50) J. LEGGE, *op. cit.*, vol. 4, p. 2, bk. 4, No. 2.

51) *Ibid.*, p. 3, bk. 2, no. 1.

52) *Ibid.*, p. 3, bk. 2, no. 1.

whose land of origin was in the terraced loess regions of the west, where they cultivated the millet as their chief means of sustenance, and brewed from it an intoxicating drink. Later, when the Chou achieved the conquest of the other tribes, and overcame the Shang, their god, Hou Chi, was identified with *Ch'i* (棄), and all these tribal gods were linked into a family relationship and given the status of royal personages in the mythical dynasties of a bygone age⁵³).

The feudalistic system, with its elaborate social and religious ceremonial, and the increasing deference and homage paid to the supreme authority, tended towards the development of divine kingship. Already, as we see in several poems of the *Shih Ching*⁵⁴), the king was looked upon as the 'Son of Heaven', and as such performed certain unique religious functions on behalf of the whole state, and held an unique relationship to the supreme deity. He possessed within himself a latent quality or power, which was, in a measure, latent in all men, but in him to a superlative degree. This mana-like quality of *te* (德) was continually reinforced as he drew into himself the rich influences from the whole territory over which he exercised suzerainty, and as he held frequent and intimate communion with the spiritual forces which pervaded the universe. Through this power or virtue which the king possessed to an unique degree he extended his influence throughout the whole land, and, in so far as the influence was good, it was productive of a beneficent state of harmony and well-being. Consequently the king came to be thought of as possessing an aura of awe and majesty, so that everything he did, whether good or evil, exerted a powerful influence akin to that exerted by spiritual beings.

Why then, we might ask, was the development towards the full recognition of the emperor as a 'divine being', as happened very early in Egypt in the case of the Pharaohs, who were worshipped in life⁵⁵), arrested in China? The answer, I believe, lies in several factors, partly geographical, partly political and partly psychological.

Geographical conditions in N. China were very different from those appertaining in Egypt. Egypt was the valley and the delta of the Nile,

53) Cf. E. C. WERNER, *op. cit.*, pp. 412 ff.

54) J. LEGGE, *op. cit.*, vol. 4. See pt. 2, bk. 1: 8.3; bk. 3: 3.2; 6.3; bk. 7: 8.3 & 4. pt. 3, bk. 3: 8.5 — 6; 9.3 & 6. pt. 4, bk. 1: 1.8; 2.6; bk. 3: 4.7.

55) A. MORET, *The Nile and Egyptian Civilization*, London 1927, pp. 160-4, 168, 392-3.

a narrow strip of extraordinarily fertile land shut in between the inhospitable deserts. Though, from early times Egypt was subject to invasions from the Sudan, Lybia and Syria, once the whole land was brought under the centralized control of a powerful pharaoh, it became possible to concentrate power and wealth, to an extraordinary degree, in his hands. The land became 'Pharaoh's Land', and his control permeated everywhere. The whole economic life of Egypt was dominated by two powerful material phenomena, the sun and the Nile, and it is not difficult to conceive how the rituals by which the king ensured prosperity and fertility to the land gave to his person an unique 'divine status', so that in the Memphite monarchy 'divine kingship' became firmly established. With the decline of the Memphite monarchy, and the subsequent period of transition (circum 2485-2160 B.C.), we see a continual encroachment on the royal prerogatives, a decline in royal authority, a democratization of religion and a growth of scepticism and impiety; but 'divine kingship' had become so rooted in Egyptian thought that the Theban kings were able to regain something of the divine status of their predecessors. Yet the democratization of religion continued, and the Osirian mysteries came to be celebrated, not only for the benefit of the Pharaoh, but for all worshippers of Osiris, who shared in an eternal resurrection⁵⁶).

The period of the Western Chou, on the other hand, was one of almost unrelenting warfare, concerned with the subjugation of barbarian tribes, and attempts to keep at bay the nomads of the northern steppes, who pressed down on the rich and fertile lands within the orbit of Chinese rule. The king needed to rely upon the military prowess of his semi-independent nobles, and those states which lay upon the periphery, if successful in war, tended to grow in extent of territory and in wealth. The royal domain, in the centre, had practically no opportunity for expansion, and in process of time the royal power tended to diminish in comparison with that of the feudal lords. With this decrease in material power there was a corresponding decrease in status and influence. It was not long before the predominant feudal lord was able to usurp temporal power, becoming what was called *pa* (霸), the chief or leader over an uneasy alliance of powerful states. For reasons of policy, the emperor, divested of real power, was allowed

56) A. MORET, *op. cit.*, p. 248.

to function in his religious capacities, and was acknowledged as supreme head of the state.

The Chinese in these early days revealed no tendency to anthropomorphize their gods. They seem to have been singularly deficient in the capacity to create myths to explain the origin of the universe and of human life. Like the Egyptians⁵⁷⁾ they recognised a first king of a first dynasty, and preceding him a dynasty of semi-divine beings, who had themselves succeeded rule by the gods. As in Mesopotamia, life was adapted to the cyclic succession of the seasons, and human society was organized to harmonize with nature through a recurring sequence of religious festivals. But here we notice one fundamental difference. There is no apparent cosmic clash between the dual powers of light and darkness, order and chaos, life and death. In China the duality which arises out of a primal unity is a duality of equally necessary and beneficent forces, which in turn attain ascendancy in the seasonal process. There is, therefore, no need to postulate a dramatic strife between the divine and the demonic, the cosmic and the chaotic, such as we see in Mesopotamian thought. Thus, in China, the dragon, regarded from earliest times as a powerful deity, was not a malevolent monster, a personification of the powers of evil ruling over a primeval abyss, which needed to be slain by some divine hero, but was rather an awe-inspiring being whose activities were, on the whole, beneficent to mankind. Through the winter months he inhabited the rivers and lakes, and in spring he mounted up to heaven, to ride upon the mighty storm clouds, and to send down the rain which was so necessary for fertility and growth. He thus became identified with the powers of fertility and production. He became king over the spiritual beings which inhabited the world of nature, and very early in China, the king was thought of as possessing attributes analogous to those of the dragon. He possessed a 'dragon nature', majestic, terrible and awe-inspiring, and yet, by his power and virtue, he brought well-being, prosperity and happiness to all the people over whom he exercised his rule. The dragon motive was embroidered on the royal robes and the royal banners. The king possessed a dragon countenance and sat upon the dragon throne. The superb horses, which in later times drew the royal chariot, were likened to dragons, and it is possible that the

57) H. FRANKFORT, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

search for the Heavenly horses of Ferghana grew out of the belief that the emperor would ascend to Heaven upon a chariot drawn by dragon-like beings. The dragon as the symbol of royalty is understandable when we remember that in Chinese thought the emperor possessed divine qualities similar in potency and effect to those ascribed from earliest times to the dragon. Throughout Chinese history the dragon has been worshipped as a god, and even to the present day the temple of the Dragon King (Lung Wang Miao, 龍王廟) is a prominent feature in many N. China villages. That this worship is a primitive feature in Chinese religion is evidenced by Creel, who informs us that in the Chia Pien lists of oracle bone inscriptions no less than 41 characters are considered to be form of *lung* (龍), meaning dragon⁵⁹), whilst Andersson affirms that the dragon motive appears in the earliest forms of Chinese art. Rostovtzeff believed that the dragon motive came to China from the Babylo-Assyrian civilization by way of Iran, but, if so it must have been very early, as the dragon motive appears in Kansu early in the 2nd. millenium B.C.⁶⁰).

In China, as in Egypt, the world was understood "in dualistic terms as a series of pairs of contrasts balanced in unchanging equilibrium. The universe as a whole was referred to as 'heaven and earth' "⁶¹). Man must assist, by means of religious ceremonies, the *yang* (陽) forces to overcome the *yin* (陰) forces in the spring and early summer, but he must help the *yin* to rise to ascendancy in autumn and winter. These two forces, which permeated all natural phenomena, and by their constant interaction caused all things to subsist, arose out of a primaeval cosmic unity. Neither of these two forces were conceived of in China in personalized terms, as in Mesopotamia, and there did not develop in China the concept of a cosmic struggle between the powers of light and darkness, resulting in the final triumph of the forces of light. In the ritual by which the emperor maintained the cosmic balance, as described in the *Li Chi*⁶²) it was just as

59) H. C. CREEL, *Studies*, p. 237.

60) ROSTOVITZEFF, *The Animal Style in S. Russia and China* (Princetown 1929).

61) H. FRANKFORT, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

62) See, e.g. *The li Chi*, bk. 4, Section 2, Pt. 2, Par. 15; bk. 4, section 4, Pt. 1. Par. 19; bk. 4, section 4, Pt. 2. Par. 7, 10.

essential to guarantee the ascendancy of *yin* in its season, as it was to guarantee the ascendancy of the *yang*. Whatever dualism existed in Chinese thought was a dualism of complementary forces which worked to produce cosmic harmony, and not a dualism of antagonistic forces bent on each other's destruction.

Moreover, in China, the significance of man has not been greatly emphasised⁶³). He was part, but a very small part, of the cosmos, deriving his nature from a union of elements compounded of heaven and earth. At death, those two elements which formed his nature tended to disintegrate, and to be reabsorbed into the *yin* and the *yang*. This tendency of the Chinese to interpret man in terms of his relation to cosmic forces, rather than to interpret cosmic forces in relation to man, militated against the tendency, so common among other peoples, towards the anthropomorphization of their gods. Had they been able to develop the worship of a personalized sun god or moon goddess, or had they been able to conceive of their gods as did the ancient Greeks in respect of the Olympian deities, the hypostasization of a god in the person of their emperor might not have been difficult.

There is evidence that, in the early Chou period, the religious functions of the emperor mainly centred in a building which is known to us in the *Li Chi* as the Hall of Brightness, or *Ming T'ang* (明堂). This building possessed something of the nature of a 'calendar house', and is believed by some scholars to have had a very early origin⁶⁴). The earliest reference to the building is in Mencius⁶⁵), where it had already fallen into disuse. The T'ai Miao (太廟) referred to in the Confucian *Analects*⁶⁶) was probably the same building, and tradition records that it went under different names

63) This is particularly revealed in Chinese paintings, in which, so often, man is dwarfed into insignificance amidst the immensities of nature; cf. *Chinese Art*, ed. by LEIGH ASHTON (London 1935), pp. 6, and 23.

64) See particularly: J. LEGGE, *Sacred Books of the East. The Li Chi*, Chapter on the Ming T'ang.

W. E. SOOTHILL, *Hall of Light* (London 1951), pp. 66 ff.

A. BULLING, *The Meaning of China's most ancient Art* (Leiden 1952), pp. 116-117.

65) J. LEGGE, *The Life and Works of Mencius* (London 1875), p. 147.

66) *The Analects of Confucius*, bk. 3: 10, 15. bk. 10: 14. A convenient translation is that by A. WALEY (London 1938), pp. 96, 98, and 150.

at different times. Confucius, when visiting the building, was evidently at a loss as to the meaning of the various symbolic and ritualistic objects, which seems to indicate that, though the temple still stood, its purpose and function were no longer clearly understood. Perhaps the only safe conclusion that can be drawn from the available evidence is that, in the Ming T'ang, the Chou emperor performed an unique function in harmonizing the seasonal life and activities of his people with the movements of the heavenly bodies, and the progression of the seasons in nature. Because of this his person was regarded with peculiar awe and sanctity by the people. But with the break-up of the empire, and the usurpation of power by the great feudal lords, the unique magico-religious status of the emperor in relation to the spiritual world tended to disappear, along with the growth of sceptical thought, which has tended to characterize the Chinese ever since.

DIVINE KINGSHIP AND CH'IN SHIH HUANG TI.

The only other period in Chinese history when there seemed to be the possibility of according to the emperor the status and worship of a divine being was at the time when Ch'in Shih Huang Ti finally subjugated the last of the warring states, and established an empire under one supreme head in 221 B.C. During the collapse of feudalism in the period of the warring states (5th.-3rd. century B.C.), the political tendency was towards government by rulers possessing absolute power, and this tendency found its completion in Ch'in Shih Huang Ti. Already in the state of Ch'in, which he ruled, under the influence of a school of Legalists, known as the *Fa Chia* (法家), the theory of the absolute authority and the divine right of the king had been vigorously expounded. The great Confucian philosopher, Hsün Tzu, (3rd century B.C.), having taught the Confucian doctrine that supreme rule and authority should be in the hands of the most virtuous, went on to teach that his word was absolute law: "Therefore to be emperor, be the right man. The empire is the weightiest thing there is. Only the strongest man is able to bear its weight. It is the largest of all. Only the most discriminating is able to make its proper distinctions. It is the most populous. Only the most wise is able to harmonize it. Unless he is a sage, he will not be able to fulfil these three requirements. Hence, unless he is a sage, he will not be able

to rule as a true king" 67). "The emperor's authority and position are most honourable, and he has no peer in the empire..... His virtue is pure and complete; his wisdom and kindness are most illustrious. When he faces south (i.e. seated on his throne), and rules the empire, all living people are moved to obey and yield to his influence. Then the empire has no (wise) men in retirement, nor are good men neglected. *What is in accord with his acts is right: what differs from them is wrong*" 68).

This glorification of the position and power of the absolute ruler was carried further by two disciples of Hsün Tzu, namely Han Fei Tzu and Li Ssu, both of whom had great influences on Ch'in Shih Huang Ti. Thus Han Fei Tzu writes, "The intelligent ruler carries out his regulations as would Heaven, and employs men as if he were a spirit. Being like Heaven, he commits no wrong. Being like a spirit, he falls into no difficulties. His power ('shih' 勢) prevails. His instructions are severe. Though they may feel rebellious, none dare disobey" 69).

When Ch'in Shih Huang Ti came to the throne he soon gave evidence that he intended to play the role of a divine ruler. One of his first acts was to proclaim himself 'Shih Huang Ti', the first emperor. In assuming this title he was deliberately appropriating to himself a term which had been used in previous dynasties either for the divine spirits of deceased emperors, or for the supreme deity of the Chinese pantheon. The term *ti* (帝) 70), possibly in its earliest form depicting a sacrifice, or a majestic figure in sacrificial robes, was not used to designate the reigning monarch, but only for the spirits of apotheosized ancestors. Later, in the Chou dynasty, *Shang Ti* (上帝) the supreme ruler above, became more or less equated

67) Hsün Tzu, *Chinese Text*, Wan Yu Wen K'u ed. (Shanghai 1930), p. 90.

荀子 有文庫

68) *Ibid*, p. 96.

69) Han Fei Tzu, *Chinese text*, Wan Yu Wen K'u ed. (Shanghai 1929), p. 44.

韓非子 集解 有文庫

70) For a full discussion of the title Shih Huang Ti and the development of the use of the term 'ti' see D. BODDE, *China's First Unifier*, (Leiden 1933), chapter 6.

with the supreme deity, Heaven *T'ien* (天). With the character *ti* (帝) the new emperor associated the character *huang* (皇), written more anciently (皇), signifying one who rules by his own absolute authority. *Shih* (始), meaning beginning or first, reveals that the ruler of Ch'in was claiming to inaugurate a lasting dynasty which would be different in kind from anything that had gone before. It was to last for ten thousand generations. The full title *Shih huang ti*, reveals that the ruler of Ch'in wished to be recognised as a divine emperor, whose power and virtue, pervading the whole empire, would correspond on earth to the power and virtue of Heaven above.

But the emperor was conscious of his mortality, and so he began that restless search for the drug or elixir of immortality by which he was assured that he would become immortal. He felt sure that the spirits above would not refuse this boon to one so illustrious as himself. He made several attempts to get into direct contact with the powerful spirits. Finally, becoming convinced that his failure was due to his preoccupation with the weighty affairs of state, he retired into seclusion from his people, believing that in this way he would best cultivate his divine nature. Then he began to have prepared for himself a magnificent mausoleum, reminding us of the pyramids of the early pharaohs, in which he might hope to enjoy a kingly estate after death. Thousands of workmen toiled on this structure. On a foundation of bronze a stone sarcophagus was raised, surrounded by a whole empire in miniature, palaces and ministries, towns and villages, even trenches filled with mercury to represent rivers and streams, the mercury being made to flow by means of an ingenious machine. On the vault of the tomb chamber were depicted the firmament and the host of stars ⁷¹).

This attempt to give the emperor a divine status, no doubt engineered by ambitious ministers and eunuchs for their own purposes, was doomed to failure, for the humanistic and rationalistic philosophies which had been developing throughout the preceding centuries were entirely alien in spirit to the magico-religious cult of emperor worship.

Nevertheless, with the establishment of an unified empire, the

⁷¹) For a French transl. of the texts concerned see L. WEIGER, *Textes Historiques* (Hien-Hien 1929), p. 225.

development of an elaborate state cult was inevitable, and in that state cult the function of the emperor was of central importance. Therefore, during the Han dynasty (206 B.C.-225 A.D.), which followed upon the fall of Ch'in the practices of former times were elaborated into a most detailed and intricate ritual which was to become normative for all subsequent times right down to the twentieth century. This corpus of ceremonial and ritual by which the state cult of China was regulated was gathered together by Han scholars to form the *Book of Rites*, the *Li Chi*, which formed an important part of the Confucian Canon.

KINGSHIP FROM THE HAN DYNASTY ONWARDS.

From the Han dynasty onwards, whatever the personal predilections of the emperor might be — he was often predisposed to Taoism or Buddhism —, it was considered indispensable to the well-being of the empire, conceived of as the entire civilized world, that a harmonious relationship should be maintained between Heaven, Earth and man. This relationship could only be maintained unimpaired if the emperor performed with deep reverence, and with careful attention to the minutest detail, as son of Heaven, the sacred and sacrificial ritual which was believed to have been originated in hoary antiquity. Yet it must be emphasised that it was as man, in sight of Heaven a very humble and even abject man, that the emperor performed those high-priestly functions which only he, as unique man, could perform. These ritual acts consisted of the worship of Heaven in the south suburb of the capital at the winter solstice, the worship of earth at the special altar of the Lord of the soil of the whole empire, the worship of innumerable spirits of mountains and rivers and natural forces at appropriate seasons, and the worship of the divine ancestors of the dynasty in the ancestral temple. Furthermore, associated with the emperor were high officials charged with astronomy, divining, prognostication and the preparations of the calendar. The following quotations from the *Book of Rites*, the *Li Chi*, help us to see the unique place of the emperor in the ritual.

“The ancient kings were troubled lest the ceremonial usages should not be generally understood by all below them. They therefore sacrificed to God in the suburb of the capital, and thus the place of Heaven

was established. They sacrificed at the Altar of Earth inside the capital, and thus they imitated the benefits derived from the earth. Their sacrifices in the Ancestral Temple gave their fundamental place to the sentiments of humanity. Those at the altar of the hills and streams served to mark their intercourse with the spirits breathing (in nature). Their five sacrifices of the house were a recognition of the various businesses that had to be done ⁷²).

"The emperor forms a ternion with Heaven and Earth, and stands side by side with spiritual beings, in order to the right ordering of government ⁷³).

"The Son of Heaven forms a ternion with Heaven and Earth. Hence, in power of his goodness, he is their correlate, and his benefit extends at once to all things. His brilliance is equal to that of the sun and moon, and enlightens all within the four seas ⁷⁴).

From the *Book of Rites*, we gather that all the ceremonial garments, the jade tokens and other regalia, the sacrificial vessels themselves, all had symbolic significance in aiding the success of the ritual and the sacrifices. There grew up an elaborate mimetic or sympathetic symbolism. The human world was thought of as a microcosm which reflected and was intimately connected with the macrocosm of the universe.

It was not alone in his position as high-priest of the state cult that the emperor of China was unique, but also in his status as supreme ruler of the terrestrial universe, owing his appointment to Heaven above. The rationalistic and humanistic tendencies of Confucian thought, which led the scholar-official to despise as gross superstitions the personalized gods of popular Taoism and Buddhism, made it equally impossible for him to give to his reigning emperor the status and dignity of a god. But the hierarchical pattern of the society over which the emperor was supreme head, together with an emphasis on an elaborate state cult, centring in the emperor, led to an adulation of the emperor and a sacred regard for his person which, practically speaking, fell little short of divine worship. Though legends grew up to account for the divine origin of the dynastic lines, it is doubtful if the scholar class regarded these legends as anything but imaginative

72) J. LEGGE, *Sacred Books of the East, The Li Chi*, book 7, section 4. 2.

73) *Ibid*, bk. 7, section 13.

74) *Ibid*, book 23, section 3.

fables, useful to invest the person of the emperor, in the eyes of a credulous populous with an aura of supernatural majesty. There was nothing analogous to the Japanese theory which claimed for the mikado descent from the sun-goddess, Amaterasu. In what sense, then, could the emperor be thought of as the 'Son of Heaven'? Only in the sense that it was in the nature of things, through the inexorable interplay of the cosmic forces which produced all natural phenomena, and which likewise controlled human affairs, that the emperor and his dynasty were raised to the position of supreme authority over terrestrial affairs. It was part of the pre-ordained order that one man should reign supreme on earth, and the emperor happened to be that man. Yet, in pursuance of his unique office and function, the emperor stood in an unique relationship to Heaven, which was best described as 'son of Heaven'. On the one hand he was the special object of Heaven's beneficence and protective care, and, on the other hand, he alone was worthy to express to Heaven in prayer and sacrifice both the gratitude and the needs of mankind. As Son of Heaven the emperor's every word was law. His every wish and whim must be obeyed. He could do no wrong. In his presence the highest official must prostrate himself, and, when told to rise, look with downcast eyes, holding his tablet before his mouth when speaking, lest his breath should contaminate the august person of his lord. Even in remonstrance it must never be hinted that the emperor had done wrong, or even been mistaken. All mistakes were those of his ministers who had failed to interpret correctly the royal will, or had given evil advice. At a word from the royal lips the most powerful ministers might be degraded to a minor post, sent into distant exile, or forced to commit suicide. When the emperor died, after the appropriate ceremonies of interment had been completed, he was raised, as his posthumous title so often suggests, to the rank of a divine being, and his spirit tablet found its place in the ancestral temple besides those of his illustrious ancestors.

CONCLUSION

The concept of kingship in China was, therefore, throughout historic times, always dominated by a philosophy which conceived of the universe as a constant and continuous interplay of cosmic forces, ever in process of endless transformations, yet circling around a fixed

centre, which, itself perfectly quiescent, nevertheless caused all things to move, which itself inactive inspired the 'myriad things' to perpetual activity. The function of the emperor was to study to conform himself and all under him to the invariable and pre-determined laws of the natural universe, to keep in perfect harmony with them, to sit on his throne at the centre of the world of men, and 'with his face towards the south' rule simply by reigning. Any deviation on his part from a pre-determined pattern would be reflected in the confusions which arose in the natural sphere, resulting in insurrections, plagues, famines and potents of nature. If the emperor should persist in deviation from the norm it might even be necessary for his mandate to be taken away from him and from his house, and for another to be appointed by Heaven to take his place. So long as he remained emperor, all honour, respect and dignity were accorded to him, as the 'unique man', the vice-regent of Heaven, the one in whom all the well-being and prosperity of mankind were centred. At death, his vital spirit continued its interest in and concern for the people which he had governed on earth, and though now exalted to some position of honour in the heavenly sphere, so long as his descendants continued to reign and to offer appropriate sacrifices, he still continued to give his guidance and counsel.

DER ANIMISMUS DER DAJAK

VON

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Die alten Indonesier (und Polynesier) hatten in ihren Sprachen kein Wort¹⁾ für den Begriff „Religion“. Im Mittelalter gebrauchten die Melaju (Malayen) und die Bewohner von Djawa dafür das indische Wort *agama*, das heute noch gebraucht wird; sie²⁾ definieren es: „Glaube an *Tuhan*³⁾, *Dewa*⁴⁾ und dergleichen“, und sie gebrauchen auch den Ausdruck *agama animis*, bezeichnen also den Animismus als Religion. In Europa wurde der Animismus häufig sehr schematisch behandelt und oft mit einer gewissen Geringschätzung mit schlagwortartigen „Erklärungen“ abgetan, die viel zu „modern“ sind, als dass sie für die Vorstellung der Urvölker passen. Schreuer⁵⁾ erkannte richtig: „Anfänglich gab es keinen Dualismus, sondern Einheit vor und nach dem Tode.“ Dann aber verwirrt er sich: „Durch Verwesung löst sich das Bild vom Leichnam; der Körper zerfällt, nur das Bild bleibt, solange die Erinnerung fortlebt. Die Hauchseele erscheint später als lebender Leichnam.“ Die Hauchseele (*anima*, *πνεῦμα*) hat mit dem *lebenden* Menschen zu tun und kann keineswegs mit dem „lebenden Leichnam“ gleichgesetzt werden. Das plattdeutsche Wort „Gonger“ (frz. *revenant*) und das hochdeutsche Wort „Gespenst“ (von ahd. *spanan* = locken) beweist, dass diesen Vorstellun-

1) Auch die alten Germanen hatten kein Wort dafür und gebrauchten daher nach der Christianisierung das lateinische Wort.

2) Purwadarminta, *Kamus umum*, 2. Aufl. S. 17.

3) Dieses nach *tuan* (Herr) neugebildete Wort wird heute auch für Allah gebraucht.

4) *Dewa* wird (Purwadarminta a.a.O. S. 150) definiert: „Eine Art ätherische (*halus* = zart, fein) Menschen, von denen man glaubt, sie üben Einfluss auf die Welt aus.“ Im übertragenen Sinne: „Menschen, die sehr verehrt werden.“ Durch diese Definition wird deutlich, dass für die Indonesier *dewa* nicht nur fremde Götter wie Brahma usw. bezeichnet, sondern auch vergottete Menschen (entsprechend ihrem Ahnenkult). So erklären sich die *debata* der animistischen Batak. Über vergottete Menschen im alten Europa vergl. G. Kahlo, *Die Wahrheit des Märchens* S. 47. Sueton, *Caesar* 88; Herodian 4,2 usw.

5) Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft 33/1916 S. 333 f.

gen nicht die „Hauchseele“ zu Grunde liegt — ebensowenig ⁶⁾ wie das Wort „Geist“ ⁷⁾ in der Urzeit etwas mit der „Hauchseele“ zu tun hat. Die „lebenden Leichname“, Geister, Gespenster usw. zeichnen sich im europäischen Animismus schon dadurch als etwas anderes (nicht-menschliches) aus, dass sie in den Erzählungen der Urzeit nicht in Prosa, sondern in Versen sprechen ⁸⁾; genau so sind die „leblosen“ Dinge gekennzeichnet; auch sie sprechen in Versen. So sagt der Spiegel:

„Frau Königin, Ihr seid die Schönste hier,
Aber Schneeweisschen ⁹⁾ über den Bergen
Bei den sieben Zwergen
Ist noch tausendmal schöner als Ihr.“ ¹⁰⁾

Oder: Der März spricht den April in Versen an:

„O Aprilu, me fratedu,
Impresta tre di li to di,
Par puni lu pastoredu,
Li ni foda va pinti.“ ¹¹⁾

Andere europäische Meinungen: Fr. Krause ¹²⁾ deutet dualistisch, was Wilken ¹³⁾ zurückwies und für monistische Erklärung des Animismus eintrat. ¹⁴⁾ Theo Körner ¹⁵⁾ findet den Monismus „primitiv“ und hält die Entwicklung zum Trialismus (Leib, Lebenskraft und Schattenbildwesen) für einen kulturellen Fortschritt; das beweist, dass er europäisch = christlich urteilt und sich nicht in den Animismus

6) Der Ausdruck „seinen Geist aufgeben“ (= sterben) ist für die vorchristliche Zeit sprachlich nicht belegt; es dürfte von Mönchen nach dem Vorbild des lat. *animum efflare*, *exspirare* gebildet sein.

7) Zu gotisch *ugaisjan* (erschrecken), *usgeisnan* (ausser sich geraten), altnordisch *geisa* (wüten), englisch *aghast* (bestürzt, entsetzt).

8) G. Kahlo, Die Verse in den Sagen und Märchen, S. 31 ff.

9) Zu beachten: Der Spiegel spricht hochdeutsch, obgleich das Märchen selbst (plattdeutsch) „Sneewittchen“ heisst.

10) Grimm, Kinder- und Hausmärchen, 4. Aufl. Band 1 S. 313 ff.

11) Ortoli, *Les contes populaires de l'île de Corse*.

12) Bei Otto Reche, *Im memoriam Karl Weule*.

13) *Het Animisme bij de volken van den Ind. Archipel*.

14) Vergl. die Deutung der religiösen „Stufen“ durch Wuttke (*Verhandelingen van het Haagsche Genootschap*, Teil 10, erstes Stück). Für die Sagen: G. Kahlo bei Mackensen, *Handwörterbuch des Deutschen Märchens* Band 1 S. 554 ff.

15) *Totenkult und Lebensglaube* S. 173.

hineinzudenken vermag. Tylor ¹⁶⁾ vergleicht die Todeserscheinung und das Traumerlebnis, weil bei beiden die „Seele“ fortgeht. Aber der Unterschied ist doch, dass sie nach dem Traum wiederkommt und der Leib weiterlebt. Merrens ¹⁷⁾ meint, die „sensitive Seele sei durch den Traum entdeckt worden.“ Damit leugnet er, dass der wachende Mensch sensitiv ist; obwohl wir doch sogar imstande sind, die Sensibilität mit Hilfe des Algesimeters und des Barästhesiometers zu messen. ¹⁸⁾ Merrens übersah dabei auch den Sensualismus: die dem Wachzustande eigentümlichen sensations transformées ¹⁹⁾ und Impressionen ²⁰⁾, die in das Traumleben hineinspielen ²¹⁾. Auch Wolk ²²⁾ ist widerspruchsvoll, wenn er den Animismus eine Hirnfunktion nennt, dann aber fortfährt, die Seele sei bei der Geburt noch nicht vorhanden, sondern entstehe erst langsam; der Körper bekämpfe die Seelenbildung usw. Diese Ansicht verrät m.E. einen naiven Dualismus. Unklar ist auch Kruyt ²³⁾: die Lehre vom „Seelenstoff“ sei animistisch, die Lehre vom Fortleben der „geistigen Seele“ im Jenseits sei spiritistisch ²⁴⁾.

Vollmering ²⁵⁾ versuchte erstmalig eine philologisch begründete Erklärung; er betrachtet njawa als „Atem“ (physiologisch), semangat als „het meer geestelijke deel van den mensch“ (psychologisch). Jedoch diese Erläuterung genügt nicht; wir müssen sämtliche Ausdrücke zu Rate ziehen, zumal die Indonesier bei ihrer Etymologie eine sehr feine, geistreiche Beobachtungsgabe und ein ausserordentlich scharfes Denkvermögen aufweisen. Nilsson ²⁶⁾ wies auf ihre Assoziationsreihen hin, und Spat ²⁷⁾ erklärt es nachdrücklich für falsch, wegen verschie-

16) Primitive culture.

17) De Indische Gids, Jahrg. 19/1897 S. 554 ff.

18) Richet, Recherches expérimentales et cliniques sur la sensibilité.

19) Condillac, Traité des sensations.

20) Hume, Philosophical works.

21) Freud, Die Traumdeutung; Laistner, Rätsel der Sphinx; Trautmann, Traum und Sage.

22) De Ind. Gids 44/1922 S. 675 ff.

23) Het animisme. Auch Camerling (Über Ahnenkult in Hinterindien) und Perry (The Megalithic culture of Indonesia) weisen Widersprüche auf.

24) Er meint, die weiterlebende Seele sei eine Vergeistigung des stofflichen Menschen, eine Art Extrakt aus dem Körper. — Diese Deutung bleibt an Äusserlichkeiten haften; offensichtlich denkt Kruyt dualistisch.

25) Kolonial-Tijdschrift, Jahrg. 3/1914 S. 1153 ff.

26) Actes du 5. Congrès d'histoire des religions, 1929 S. 99 ff.

27) Ned. Ind. Oud en Nieuw, Jahrg. 1/1916.

dener Begriffe für Leben- und Totenseele darauf zu schliessen, es bestünde dazwischen kein Zusammenhang.

Die Indonesische Ausdrücke:

- 1) *njawa* = Seele, Atem, Leben ²⁸⁾; makassarisch und bugisch heisst *narwa* ²⁹⁾ denken. Das dürfte sekundär sein ³⁰⁾.
- 2) *semangat* = Lebensgeist, Lebenskraft, Vitalität. Dempwolff ³¹⁾ erklärt die Silbe *net* als „Körperwärme.“ Dafür gibt es keinen Beweis; die Vergleichung mit den Bedeutungen in anderen Sprachen ergibt ein ganz anderes Bild: im Tobabatakischen ³²⁾ heisst *ngot* ³³⁾ „erwachen“, und *mangot* bedeutet „Ahnengeist“. Die Bedeutung „erwachen“ weist eindeutig auf animistische Vorstellung: bekanntlich glauben die Animisten, bei Krankheiten (vor allem Ohnmacht), der Lebensgeist (*semangat*) habe den Körper verlassen; daher lockt ihn der einheimische Homöopath zurück mit dem Ausruf „*kur, kur semangat*“; das Wort *kur* entspricht völlig dem deutschen „putt, putt“, mit dem Hühner ³⁴⁾ gelockt werden. Dieses Wort gebraucht aber auch die moderne indonesische Mutter, wenn sich z.B. ihr Kind gestossen hat oder gefallen ist; ebenso „lockt“ die Mutter des Bräutigams die Braut mit „*kur*“. Im ersten Falle wird also die den Körper bewegende Kraft „zurückgerufen“ ³⁵⁾; im zweiten Falle bedeutet es die Aufforderung an die Braut, mit ihrer Lebenskraft die Sippe des Bräutigams zu stärken bzw. zu bereichern. Auch dem neu geborenen Säugling wird zu-

28) Dazu polynesisch: samoanisch *manawa* = atmen.

29) In diesen Sprachen entspricht n dem sonstigen nj.

30) Auf den „Luftzug“ weist Ilokona *wawa* (Pfeife) hin. Brandstetter (Die indonesische und indogermanische Volksseele S. 7) nimmt für die Silbe *wa* die Urbedeutung „blasen“ an. Für das *Geräusch* des Atmens gibt es im Alt-Malayischen noch das Wort *dungas* (= hauchen).

31) Folia Ethno-glossica Jahrg. 2, Heft 3/4, S. 50.

32) Die Batak sind Animisten.

33) Unbetontes e (Pepet) wird im Batakischen (sowie im Polynesischen) zu o (im Malayischen und Dajakischen zu a, im Tagalischen und Madagassischen zu i.)

34) Daher in der Kindersprache der Ausdruck „Putthühner“.

35) Dem Augenschein nach hat ja der Körper in den angeführten Fällen seine Kraft eingebüsst. Da der Animist keinen Unterschied macht zwischen dem Stoff der Natur und dem Stoff des Menschen, ruft der batakische Matrose das Wort auch dem Winde zu, wenn es windstill ist (der Wind also seine „Lebenskraft“ verloren hat), und er sich (zum Segeln) Wind wünscht.

gerufen ³⁶⁾ *kursemangat*. Damit ist erwiesen, dass der Indonesier den semangat als Lebenskraft des Körpers betrachtet, nicht etwa als eine Seele oder einen Geist nach dualistischer Anschauung; der Ausdruck ist monistisch.

Weiter: da *mangot* (s.o.) „Ahnengeist“ bedeutet, so wirft das Wort ein klares Licht auf die Ursachen des Ahnenkults. Der „Geist“ der Ahnen ist ein Fluidum, kein „Ding“ für sich, das irgendwo „spukt“, sondern es ist die von den Ahnen (durch die Zeugung bzw. Geburt) ererbte Lebenskraft, d.h. dem Animisten ist klar, dass er sein Leben (Dasein) seinen Eltern (Ahnen) verdankt; der „Geist“ d.h. die Lebenskraft (*semangat*) sitzt in ihm — er trennt also nicht „Körper“ und „Geist“ (Seele, Lebenskraft), sondern betrachtet beides als eins, nämlich als Materie: der Stoff (der Körper) lebt durch die Funktionen der Organe (Blutkreislauf, Atmen usw.), wozu auch die Funktionen der Sinne (Ästhetik, Wahrnehmung, Empfindung) und die des Gehirns (Denken, Wollen) gehören. Das ist bei ihm alles eins ³⁷⁾. Daher gibt es im alten Indonesischen keine „Gebete“, die an etwas Unkörperliches gerichtet werden und keine „Opfer“ im heidnischen Sinne ³⁸⁾. Der sundanesishe Ausdruck *sembajang* der von Mohammedanern (etwa seit dem Jahre 1500) für gottesdienstliche Tätigkeit gebraucht wird, ist übernommen von den Erinnerungsfesten für die Ahnen; er heisst ganz einfach „Verehrung (d.i. ehrenvolles Gedenken) der Toten“; die auch (im Mittelalter) den lebenden Würdenträgern erwiesene Begrüssung ³⁹⁾ heisst *sembah* und die Silbe *jang* bedeutet die „Vorfahren“: malayisch *mojang* = Urgrossvater, Mundart von Mengakbau *pojang* = Stammvater. Auch sachlich wird sofort klar,

36) Purwadarminta, Kamus umum S. 374.

37) In völliger Unkenntnis des Animismus schrieben leider viele Europäer: „Die meisten haben Götzenbilder, denen sie opfern.“ Das ist barer Unsinn. Die „Bilder“ sind Püppchen, die (in alter Zeit) die Ahnen darstellten; von „Opfern“ ist keine Rede, sondern es dreht sich um dankbare Erinnerung (althochdeutsch: *minne*; erst mittelhochdeutsch wird dies Wort für „Liebe“ in erotischer Beziehung gebraucht). Vergleiche in Europa: Lichtbilder der Eltern; Grabgaben am Totensonntag; Kerzen in katholischen Kirchen usw.

38) Entsprechende Wörter sind fremden Ursprungs: *doa* (Gebet) ist arabisch, *kurban* (Opfer) ebenfalls und *pudjaan* (Opfer) ist indisch. In Polynesien: Maori *pure* wurde erst von den Missionaren mit „beten“ übersetzt; urpolynesisch hatte es die Bedeutung „Tabuabwehr“ sowie „Sträusse winden“.

39) Handflächen aneinandergelegt, Daumenspitzen an die Nasenspitze und Zeigefinger an die Stirn gehalten.

dass das „Opferfest“⁴⁰⁾ für die Ahnen keinerlei „Götzenkult“ war, wenn man z.B. den bei Gelegenheit des Ahnengedenktages vorgetragenen „Segenswunsch“ der *Batak* aufmerksam liest:

„Es fliegt die Ente zum Wiesengrund.⁴¹⁾
Die Arbeit soll gut sein und wir selbst gesund.
Es wachse unser Familienbund!
Erfrecht sich der Feind,
Dann macht die Treue der Sippschaft ihm kund!
Schwärzliches Büffelgehörn schmücke

Den First der stattlichen Wohnung.
Den Schwiegersöhnen viel Glück
Und dem Dorfhäuptling⁴²⁾ reiche Belohnung!”

Es ist also keine Rede von Spiritualismus, sondern eindeutig von einer naturwissenschaftlichen Philosophie und Weltanschauung.⁴³⁾

In Europa artete die materialistische, naturwissenschaftliche Philosophie zeitweilig in Pseudomaterialismus aus, und dieser wusste, wenn er vulgär verflacht wurde, also unecht war, sich nicht zu helfen und griff zum Aberglauben, besonders im Mittelalter.⁴⁴⁾ Das kam auch in Indonesien vor; daher der Ausdruck *hantu* = Gespenst. Da die Silbe *tu* „stehen“ heisst, gleichzeitig zur Zusammensetzung mit Bezeichnungen für die Vorfahren und die Sippe dient, auch „Ehrfurcht“ meint⁴⁵⁾, wird klar, dass *hantu* der „Wiedergänger“ ist.⁴⁶⁾ Vor „Wiedergängern“ (revenants) hatten manche Angst und brachten

40) Leider wird dieser nicht passende Ausdruck von fast allen europäischen Autoren gebraucht.

41) Symbolische Einleitung. In Indonesien sehr beliebt; siehe die ersten zwei Zeilen der malayischen Vierzeiler (*pantun*). (G. Kahlo in der Wissenschaftl. Zeitschrift der Univ. Leipzig, 4. Jahrg. 4/1954/55, Ges. und sprachwiss. Reihe Heft 1/2 S. 227 ff.).

42) Das Wort *datuk* (Häuptling) heisst gleichzeitig „Ahne“; der Sippenälteste war einst der Häuptling.

43) Für China vergl. Erkes, Die heutige Stellung der Religionen (Numen Vol. III Fasc. 1, Januar 1956).

44) Alle Sagensammlungen sämtlicher europäischen Völker liefern lehrreiche Beispiele dafür.

45) Tontemboanisch *ratu* = Ehrfurcht erweisen. Vergl. auch malayisch *tuah* = Glück. Entsprechend fordert Schiller: „mit der physischen Welt als der Bewahrerin unserer Glückseligkeit in gutem Einvernehmen zu bleiben.“ (Über das Erhabene).

46) Dajakisch heisst *hantu* „Leiche“.

ihnen „Opfer“ (*semah*; wörtlich: Abwehrzauber), taten also dasselbe, wie die alten Europäer, die den Leichen Grabbeigaben⁴⁷⁾ spendeten.⁴⁸⁾ Auch die von Europäern fälschlich „Gespenster“ genannten *begu* der Batak sind die Verstorbenen; so heisst *pasuan* „zürnen“, vom *begu* gesagt,⁴⁹⁾ *pasupasu* „Segen“ (den die Ahnen spenden).

Wir sind in der glücklichen Lage, dass wir in Indonesien nicht spekulativ zu arbeiten brauchen, da wir beglaubigtes Material aus geschichtlicher Zeit haben. So sind wir über den Animismus der *Olo Ngadju*⁵⁰⁾ genau unterrichtet, da bei den *Pulopetakstämmen* Harde-land,⁵¹⁾ bei den *Landak* und *Tajan* Schadee⁵²⁾ genaue und unvoreingenommene Untersuchungen anstellten. Die Dajak wohnten auf Djawa („Java“) und gingen von dort nach Kalimantan („Borneo“), als 1478 der Fürst von Mataram, der mohammedanisch geworden war, das Reich Madjajahit stürzte und den Islam einführen wollte; die Dajak hielten am Animismus fest. Sie haben noch ihre Gesänge⁵³⁾ aufbewahrt, die beim „Geleitfest der Totenseelen“ rezitiert wurden. Mit diesem „Seelengeleit“⁵⁴⁾ hat es folgende Bewandnis:

Etwas ein Jahr nach dem Tode eines Menschen wird seine „Totenseele“ von den „Luftgeistern“ ins „Geisterland“ gebracht. Die Totenseele heisst dajakisch *liau*; da *beliau* „Ehrwürden“ heisst,⁵⁵⁾ liegt schon in dem Ausdruck die Hindeutung auf den Ahnenkult. Ebenso im Namen der Luftgeister: diese heissen *Sangiang*, d.i. Sang jang = die verehrten Vorfahren;⁵⁶⁾ ursprünglich sind es also die Ahnen, und erst in der Vulgärmythologie wurden daraus „Geister“. Das Land der Sangiang liegt über dem „Nebelmeer“, d.h. über den Wolken.⁵⁷⁾ Dort strömen 160 Flüsse — eine nach Zahl und Sache echt dajakische

47) Heute noch: Totenkränze. (Auch wenn der Sinn der Sache heute ein anderer ist.)

48) Hauser, Der Mensch vor 100 000 Jahren.

49) Vergl. in Europa die Kobolde usw. (zürnende Ahnen), andererseits die Heinzelmännchen usw. (helfende Ahnen).

50) Von den Europäern „Dajak“ genannt.

51) Wörterbuch der dajakischen Sprache (passim).

52) *Bijdragen tot de taal-, land- en volkenkunde* Teil 55/1903 bis Teil 63/1910.

53) *Augh balian hapa tiwah*.

54) Vergl. den Ἑρμῆς ψυχοπομπός.

55) Das *be* — ist Vorsilbe.

56) Nebenbegriff der Silbe *jang*: „Schatten“ und „schweben“. Vergleiche Homer: αἱ δὲ σκιάι ἀίσουσσι.

57) Vergl. das germanische Niflheim, aus dem die Nibelungen stammen.

Angabe: die Dajak siedelten nur an Flüssen (die sie durch Kanäle verbanden); die Zahl 160 beruht auf dem urpolynesischen Vierersystem (4×40). Weiter: Einst lebten die *Sangiang* auf der Erde. Sie waren stärker als die Menschen, waren ihnen gegenüber aber im Nachteil, da sie nur „schwimmendes“ Eisen hatten, das (als Waffe) nicht tödlich war, während die Menschen „sinkendes“ Eisen hatten, das tötete. Deshalb zog der Stammvater der „Luftgeister“ mit den Seinen ins „Geisterreich“.

Das ist deutlich: die Alten konnten das Eisen noch nicht so gut bearbeiten wie ihre Nachfahren. (Eisen und Stahl der Dajak ist besser als der europäische). Die Umdeutung der Vorfahren in „Luftgeister“ ist bezeichnend für die volkstümliche Auslegung alter Mythen. So auch die Ausmalung des „Geisterreichs“: es enthält herrliche Früchte, Bäume mit seidenen Blättern usw. (Ein Elementargedanke; vergleiche den Olymp, die Walhalla, das Paradies usw.). Eigentümlich für die dortige Anschauung sind zwei Punkte; erstens: das muntere Mädchen *Sandah* (d.h. „Soubrette“) sorgt für Unterhaltung, und zwar entspricht die Art ihrer Witze etwa den deutschen „Eulenspiegeleien“; zweitens: die dortige Sprache ist dajakisch, aber alle Wörter haben den entgegengesetzten Sinn; also: *mendeng* (= stehen) bedeutet dort „liegen“, während *menter* (= liegen) dort „stehen“ bedeutet.

Die *Sangiang* also holten die Totenseele ins Geisterreich; sie bedienten sich dazu eines goldenen Schiffs. Im Geisterreich lebte die Seele genau wie auf der Erde, aber etwa doppelt solange; dann begab sie sich auf die Erde in eine Frucht oder essbare Pflanze, und wer diese ass, wurde zeugungs- bzw. gebärfähig. Das ist ein ganz klarer Regenerationsgedanke ⁵⁸⁾

Die Kraft, die den lebenden Körper bewegt, heisst *hambaruan*. ⁵⁹⁾ Eine *hambaruan* hat auch der Reis, das Gold, ⁶⁰⁾ die Kleiderstoffe und die Waffen — also die Dinge, die einst für die wichtigsten galten. Alle anderen Dinge haben eine *gana* ⁶¹⁾ genannte Dingseele. Die „heiligen Töpfe“ (*blanga*), das Gold und die Messer haben eine gute

58) Vergl. in Deutschland die Gestalt der Frau Holle.

59) Die Silbe *ba* kommt in Bezeichnungen für Menschen, Tiere und Pflanzen vor; die Silbe *ru* bedeutend „lebhaft Bewegung“; *ham* ist Vorsilbe, *an* Nachsilbe.

60) Wenn es im Umlauf ist. Solange es in der Erde ruht, heisst die Dingseele des Goldes *sarok*; das heisst weiter nichts als „was darin steckt“.

61) Wörtlich: „Ebenbild“. Der Begriff entspricht dem „Ding an sich“ Kants.

Dingseele; die Häuser teils eine gute, teils eine böse; die Bäume ausser dem Gummifeigenbaum (*handjalong*) eine böse. Fällt man Bäume, kann es geschehen, dass einen die böse *gana* des Baums krank macht; dann versöhnt man sie durch ein Opfer. Hier sehen wir deutlich, dass solches „Opfer“ seinen Grund hat in der Achtung vor der Natur, in der Ehrfurcht vor dem Leben, also auch vor dem Leben der Pflanzenwelt. Für die guten Dingseelen setzt man alljährlich bei Beginn der Ernte eine Festmahlzeit hin. Diese Allbeseelung der ganzen Natur ist auch in Europa sattem bekannt: überall sprach man da von Elfen, Nixen, Dryaden usw.

Es konnte nicht ausbleiben, dass bei der Vulgarisierung dieser Anschauung böse Dingseelen zu Gespenstern wurden. Das Milieu (der Urwald) begünstigte das, zumal, wenn man bedenkt, dass die Einwohnerzahl von ganz *Kalimantan* (das bedeutend grösser ist als z.B. Deutschland) im vorigen Jahrhundert wenig über eine Million betrug.

Dass selbst bei den Gespenstersagen die Achtung vor der Natur (dem Leben) die Entstehungsursache ist, erhellt aus folgendem Zug: die *kambä* (= Gespenster) werden böse, wenn man in ihrer Nähe Bäume fällt (also Leben vernichtet). Ferner: kommt jemand hinzu, wenn eine Mahlzeit gehalten wird, und er verschmäht mitzuessen, so wird die Seele (*gana*), die im Reis sitzt, böse, d.h. also, sie nimmt die Undankbarkeit übel. (Vergleiche christlich: „Du sollst die Gottesgabe nicht verachten“.)

Natürlich gelten „böse Geister“ als Verursacher von Krankheiten. Solche „Giester“ werden verhüllend *talo* (= Ding, Sache) genannt. Aus diesem Ausdruck geht wiederum hervor, dass die Dajak die ganze Natur als Einheit betrachten und die Dinge (Sachen, Gegenstände) in vitaler Beziehung dem Menschen gleichstellen.

Es ist falsch, die einheimischen, meist homoöpathisch oder auch suggestiv arbeitenden Ärzte als Beutelschneider hinzustellen, ⁶²⁾ die übertriebene Profite machten, indem sie die Angst der Kranken ausnutzten; denn die Honorare dieser Herren sind nicht hoch, und geradezu rührend bescheiden sind die Einkünfte der Damen, die sich medizinisch betätigen; junge Mädchen ⁶³⁾ erhalten für eine langwierige Kur nur ein paar Groschen. Übrigens ist die Krankenpflege sehr sorg-

62) Wie es z.B. die Zeitschrift „Zeit im Bild“ (erste Aprilnummer 1956) tat.

63) Früher nahm man mit Vorliebe junge Mädchen sozusagen als medizinische Laborantinnen; schon Backfische wurden sehr gründlich ausgebildet.

fältig, und die Pharmakologie gibt der europäischen nichts nach; im Gegenteil, manche Arznei ist bei den Dajak besser als in Europa; beispielshalber die Pillen (*untal*) gegen Cholera aus „spanischem“ Pfeffer und Palmzucker. ⁶⁴⁾ Oder: Vitriolöl (*tarusi*) gegen Pocken. ⁶⁵⁾

Gemäss der Auffassung von der Einheit der Natur und der innigen Verbindung von Mensch und Natur ist verständlich, dass im Volksglauben Wert gelegt wurde auf Vorzeichen, Zaubermittel u. dergl. Diese Dinge darf man nicht in Bausch und Bogen verdammen, sondern muss jede einzelne Angelegenheit für sich untersuchen und sich um eine Erklärung bemühen. Eine grosse Rolle spielt dabei die Suggestion und die Analogie. So bei der Tagewählerei; nicht nur bei Reisen, Feldarbeiten und Handelsgeschäften war die Wahl eines „günstigen“ Tages Sitte; auch bei der Namengebung eines Säuglings wartete man auf ein günstiges Vorzeichen. ⁶⁶⁾ Bei Traumdeutungen ist die Analogie leicht festzustellen: ⁶⁷⁾ ein Traum von Pilzesuchen oder Fischfang bedeutet Glück im Handel; Sturm (im Traum) bedeutet Zank und dergleichen. ⁶⁸⁾ Bei Gebräuchen: eine schwangere Frau darf nicht nähen, nichts zubinden, nichts zunageln; auch der Mann unterwirft sich derartigen „Verboten“ und dämmt z.B. in der Zeit der Schwangerschaft kein Wasser (auf den nassen Reisfeldern oder im Fluss zwecks Fischfang) ab. ⁶⁹⁾

Auf Grund ihrer Anschauung haben die Dajak eine sehr hohe Moral entwickelt. Gewiss, die Dajak haben seit Jahrhunderten genau festgelegte Gesetze, nach denen böse Menschen bestraft werden; aber deren Anwendung erübrigt sich meistens, weil die Sittlichkeit so gefestigt ist, dass die Leute sich hüten, die Moral zu verletzen. ⁷⁰⁾ Der Dajak glaubt nicht an eine transcendente, sondern an eine immanent wirkende Gerechtigkeit. ⁷¹⁾ Die Lehre der Dajak besagt: wer (was als Todsünde galt) sich gegen seine Eltern oder andere alte

64) Dosis: 5-15 Pillen. Auch in Salbenform (*zwadak*) gebraucht.

65) Über die Heilkunst der Indonesier siehe G. Kahlo in „Ztschr. für ärztliche Fortbildung“ Jahrg. 1957.

66) Ling Roth, *Natives of Sarawak* I S. 102.

67) Nach der Methode der analogia fidei und dem Grundsatz eadem ratio, eadem dispositio.

68) *Bijdragen tot de taal-, land- en volkenkunde*, Teil 56/1904 S. 532 ff.

69) *Daselbst* Teil 63/1910 S. 390 ff.

70) Vergleiche die Parallele bei Tacitus, *Germania*.

71) Vergl. Schiller: „Die Weltgeschichte ist das Weltgericht“.

Leute ungebührlich benahm, und der, der ein Schwerverbrechen (*kihal*) begeht,⁷²⁾ der wird (nicht nach dem Tode, sondern bei Lebzeiten) unglücklich. Das Wort dafür ist *talahan*, eigentlich „erledigt“, d.h. er ist (wie man auch im Deutschen sagt) für die Gesellschaft „erledigt“, aus der Gemeinschaft der Menschen ausgestossen, und er erleidet, so glauben die Dajak, mit unbedingter Notwendigkeit Nachteile, Verluste, Schäden und Krankheit. Es ist nicht zu leugnen, dass dieser Gedankengang streng logisch ist; die Sippenverfassung der Dajak und ihr humanes Verhalten zu einander liessen sicherlich den Sünder⁷³⁾ unglücklich werden.

Die animistische Weltanschauung der Dajak hat also eine gute Moral und Sittlichkeit zur Folge gehabt, und man kann sich an den Dajak ein Beispiel nehmen.

72) Mord, Betrug, Meineid, Blutschande. Alle diese Verbrechen kamen fast nie vor.

73) Lässliche Sünden, kleinere (verhältnismässig belanglose) Vergehen wurden dagegen milde bestraft, und jeder, der bereute, durfte der Nachsicht und Verzeihung gewiss sein.

THE DATE AND TEACHING OF ZARATHUSTRA

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Like many ancient teachers Zarathustra has been regarded as a figure of legendary creation. According to Darmesteter ¹⁾ and others the prophet of the Avesta is a mere myth, a deity invested with human attributes. But such writers failed, apparently, to distinguish between the prophet as represented in the Gathas and the legendary figure of the later Pahlavi portion of the Avesta. For the Avesta, the collective name of the Zoroastrian scriptures, contains not only the Gathas which were written by the prophet himself, but also the Pahlavi Texts composed during the third to the seventh century A.D. ²⁾. The Gathas, however, present no such legendary or fantastic figure; and it is these writings alone that we will consult here in our discussion of Zarathustra and his teaching. In them the prophet appears as a normal human being engaged in the prosecution of a great mission. Like the Old Testament prophets he is at first overwhelmed by the seeming impossibility of his task ³⁾. He experiences doubt and despair as he struggles with the stark realities of evil ⁴⁾, while again he rejoices in the confidence that is born of a belief in the ultimate triumph of God ⁵⁾. His simple belief and his earnest appeal to his fellow men all bear the marks of a genuine reformer; and such reforms as history attributes to the prophet must have had some inaugurator and leader. The Gathas further enable us to reconstruct the nature of the society into which Zarathustra was born. As J. H. Moulton pointed out the family names mentioned therein should disprove any mythological

1) *S.B.E.*, Vol. IV, pp. lxxviff. (Oxford 1880).

2) See D. F. A. BODE and P. NANAVUTTY, *Songs of Zarathustra*, Lond. 1952, p. 16.

3) *Yasna* 34; 8: 46; 1-4.

4) *Yasna* 32; 14, 16: 34; 12: 46; 7-11: 48; 9: 51; 10-14.

5) *Yasna* 33; 14: 51; 15: 53; 8-9.

theory of his origin⁶). The element 'ustrā' meaning *camel* appears in his own name, 'aspa' meaning *horse* in that of his ancestors⁷) and royal acquaintances⁸), while the family with which he was connected in marriage bore the clan name 'Hvogva'⁹) meaning *owning fine cattle*. So realistic are the names and people which appear within the environment of the prophet's activity that Herzfeld was tempted to argue that not only had he wealthy relations but that he was actually the son of a Median chief and the daughter of Astyages, the last Median king¹⁰).

Although no scholar of repute today questions the historicity of Zarathustra there is little unanimity on the question of his date. Up to two or three decades ago it was customary for Iranian scholars and historians to attribute the Prophet's ministry to the period of about 1,000 B.C. or earlier¹¹). There were however a few exceptions, notable among them being E.W. West who believed that 'the dates stated in the synopsis of traditional chronology are B.C. 660-583'¹²), while A. V. W. Jackson later expressed himself as concurring with this view¹³). It is true that more recent writers have taken greater account of the evidence available from the traditional sources, but again this evidence has been variously interpreted. Thus Herzfeld placed the date of the prophet within the period 570-500 B.C.¹⁴), while the Swedish scholar H. S. Nyberg concluded that all that could be said historically of Zarathustra was that he lived before the year

6) *The Treasure of the Magi*, Oxford 1917, p. 13.

7) 46; 15: see also BODE and NANAVUTTY, *op. cit.*, p. 86 note 3.

8) *Yasna* 28; 7.

9) *Yasna* 51; 17: 46; 16: see also BODE and NANAVUTTY, *op. cit.*, p. 45 note 1.

10) *Zoroaster and His World*, 1947, Vol. I, pp. 48-50.

11) E.g., J. H. MOULTON, *The Teaching of Zarathustra*, Bombay 1917, p. 4; L. H. MILLS *Zarathustra, Philo, The Achaemenids, Israel*, (Leipzig) 1906, p. 423; M. N. DHALLA, *Zoroastrian Civilisation*, New York 1923, p. 24; Eduard MEYER, *Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums*, 1921, vol. 2 p. 58; R. G. KENT, *The Name Ahuramazda*, in *Oriental Studies In Honour Of Cursetji Erachi Pavry* (ed. by J. D. C. PAVRY), Oxford 1933, pp. 200-208; cf. also NATHANIEL SCHMIDT, *A.J.S.L.* 53, 1933, pp. 201-203, who suggested that 'the 8th century is not impossible' for the date of Zarathustra.

12) *S.B.E.*, Vol XLVII, p. xxxviii (1897).

13) *Zoroaster, The Prophet of Ancient Iran*, London 1899, p. 159.

14) *Zoroaster and His World*, pp. 27 and 30; cf. also C. F. LEHMANN-HAUPT, *Wann lebte Zarathustra?*, in *Oriental Studies* (ed. by J. D. C. PAVRY) pp. 250-280, who concluded that the prophet was actively teaching shortly before 522 B.C.

485 B.C.¹⁵). In a recent discussion of the question W. B. Henning declared himself 'among those who accept the (traditional) date and all that flows from it'¹⁶) and has admirably demonstrated the trustworthiness of the view 'which would place Zoroaster in the neighbourhood of 600 B.C.'¹⁷).

The traditional date of Zarathustra is commonly regarded as being 258 years before Alexander. This figure however occurs nowhere within the traditional Zarathustrian literature. It is rather derived from a calculation based on the chronology which appears in chapter 34 of the Bundahish. In verses six and seven of that chapter we read: 'Kai-Vistasp, till the coming of the religion, thirty years, altogether a hundred and twenty years. Vohuman ... a hundred and twelve years; Humai ... thirty years; Darai son of Kihar-azad ... twelve years; Darai son of Darai fourteen years; Alexander the Ruman fourteen years'¹⁸). Hence, beginning with 90 years for Vishtasp, these reigns covering the period from 'the coming of the religion' till the rule of Alexander, yield a total of 258 years¹⁹). The actual figure of 258 years does appear however in a work entitled *The Chronology of Ancient Nations* by the Arab scholar Albiruni who wrote at about 1,000 A.D. Referring to Zarathustra's date he said: 'From his appearance till the beginning of the era of Alexander they count 258 years'²⁰). In the work of another medieval scholar, Masudi, who wrote in about 944, we also read: 'The magicians count a period of two hundred and fifty-eight years between their prophet Zoroaster and Alexander'²¹). In contrast with the precise information of these writers the number 258 is only latent, and but artificially represented, in the Bundahish chronology, suggesting that while its author was well acquainted with the tradition which placed the founding of Zoroastrianism 258 years before Alexander he knew little of other historical events. The date of the founding of Zoroastrianism would naturally

15) *Die Religionen des alten Iran*, Deutsch von H. H. SCHAEDEER, Leipzig 1938, p. 45.

16) *Zoroaster*, Oxford 1951, p. 36.

17) *Op. cit.*, p. 35.

18) *S.B.E.*, Vol. V, pp. 150-151.

19) Cf. the tabulation by JACK FINEGAN, *The Archaeology of World Religions*, 1952, pp. 80-81.

20) Edited and translated by C. E. SACHAU, London 1879, p. 17.

21) See A. V. W. JACKSON, *Zoroaster the Prophet of Ancient Iran*, p. 162.

be remembered by the followers of the prophet, but Alexander would only be remembered in their religious traditions in so far as his rule directly affected the history of their religion. The reference in the Bundahish places 'the coming of the religion' at the beginning of Alexander's reign; but his rule did not affect the Persians till his conquest of their land in 330 B.C. This was a year which the Persians would naturally remember, and as Alexander's invasion disrupted the order and routine of their lives it was probably the last year which they remembered with accuracy. It is likely then that when the Persians spoke of 258 years before Alexander they meant 258 years before 330 B.C., and that therefore Henning is justified in his conclusion that 'the year 588 B.C. is the true date of Zoroaster' 22).

Some support for this view may be gained from certain references in the traditional Zarathustrian sources in as much as these references record the purity of Zoroastrianism till the coming of Alexander and the destruction of the Iranian monarchy. Thus in *Arta Viraf* I, 1-5 we read: 'They say that once upon a time the pious Zaratusth made the religion which he had received current in the world; and till the completion of 300 years the religion was in purity and men were without doubts. But afterwards the accursed evil-spirit, the wicked one, in order to make men doubtful of this religion, instigated the accursed Alexander the Ruman, who was dwelling in Egypt, so that he came to the country of Iran with severe cruelty and war and devastation; he also slew the ruler of Iran, and destroyed the metropolis and empire, and made them desolate' 23). The testimony of Zad-Sparam regarding the history of Zoroastrianism is of similar purport: 'It exists day and night till the three hundreth year. Afterwards the religion is disturbed and the monarchy contested' 24). The figure 300 in both of these statements may be taken as a round number for the period which appears more precisely elsewhere as 258, but their significance lies in their attestation of the disruption of Zoroastrianism when Alexander invaded Iran and overthrew the reigning house. Albiruni saw in Alexander's attack on Persia an event of such significance that he regarded it as the inauguration of the 'Era of

22) *Op. cit.*, p. 41.

23) *The Book of Arta Viraf* by HAUG and WEST, p. 141.

24) *Zad-Sparam* xxiii, 11-12, *S.B.E.*, Vol. XLVII, p. 166.

Alexander' ²⁵), but for the Persians it only signified the devastation of their homeland, a break in their history, and a dislocation of all chronological reckoning ²⁶). This explains why the Persian traditions regarding the time of Zarathustra relate to a date before, not after, the coming of Alexander.

It appears then that 588 B.C. was the year in which Zoroastrianism was founded. It remains however to determine the stage which this year marked in the prophet's career. A reference in the *Dinkard* ²⁷) would seem to date the first century of Zoroastrianism from a 'conference' of the prophet which according to other allusions took place when he was 30 years of age ²⁸). Several 'conferences', or revelations, followed, and it was only at the end of ten years of such experiences that he won his first convert ²⁹). It was not till two years later still that he succeeded in converting king Vishtasp. This was an event of some importance to the prophet, as following the royal example, many people immediately became converted and his teaching was established on a firm basis. Indeed the writer of the *Dinkard* confessed that if 'Vishtasp and those of his time' had not accepted 'the Avesta ... it would not have' survived unto his own day ³⁰). But tradition seems to attach equal significance to the occasion of the prophet's first 'conference' and to his success in winning king Vishtasp to the faith. One passage refers to his death 'when seventy-seven years had elapsed onwards from his birth, forty-seven onwards from his conference, and thirty-five onwards from the acceptance of the religion by Vishtasp' ³¹). Yet in another passage we read that 'In the forty-seventh year Zaratusht passes away, who attains seventy-seven years' ³²) in which, apparently, the 'conference' is regarded as being the decisive event in the prophet's ministry. A matter of a dozen years is of little historical significance, but acceptance of the view that

²⁵) *Chronology* (ed. and trans. by SACHAU p. 32). For a refutation of the view that this era was the same as the Seleucid era, see S. H. TAQIZADEH, *Bull. School Orient. Stud.* X, (pp. 129 f.).

²⁶) Cf. HENNING, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

²⁷) Book VII, viii, 51, *S.B.E.*, Vol. XLVII, p. 105.

²⁸) *Dinkard* VII, iii, 51; VIII, iii, 4; See E. W. WEST, *S.B.E.*, XLVII, p. 47, note 2.

²⁹) *Zad-Sparam*, XXXIII, 1-2, *S.B.E.*, XLVII, p. 163.

³⁰) Book VII, iv, 63, *S.B.E.*, XLVII, p. 64.

³¹) *Dinkard*, Book VII, v, 1, *S.B.E.*, XLVII, pp. 73-74.

³²) *Zad-Sparam* XXIII, vi, 9, *S.B.E.*, XLVII, p. 165.

the prophet experienced his 'conference' in 588 B.C. when he was 30 years old would place his life within the period 618-541 B.C.

An examination of his teaching, and of the theological precepts it assumes, further urges the conclusion that the prophet could scarcely have lived and taught earlier than this period. For his advanced doctrine of a righteous God, his frank admission of the problem of evil, his emphasis on moral living, and, above all, the prominence he attached to the belief in a life after death so supremely surpass even the beliefs which the Israelites held one thousand years before Christ that, if it be conceived that Zarathustra belonged to that period, then he was 'one born out of due time' and was unquestionably a prophet in advance of his age. His scientific cosmology, his orderly presentation of his material, his profound ethical and universal conception of God cannot be products of the virtually dark age of 1,000 B.C., nor can such concepts be intelligible at a date earlier than the sixth century B.C.

The early period of Zarathustra's ministry seems to have been spent mainly in denouncing the beliefs and practices then current in the land. The worship of the populace found expression in devotion and sacrifice to a number of minor deities known as Daevas. The Daeva was a concept from Aryan days when it was a term with some spiritual content, as indeed it remained in the religion of the Vedas. But in Iranian religion '*Daeva*' had lost its spiritual significance and had become a general term embracing evil spirits, magicians, and numerous gods³³). In the prophet's day 'the deceits perpetrated by' the 'Daevas'³⁴) were manifold. The Karapans, the sacrificial priests of the Daevas³⁵), were in turn influenced by them. It was through the Daevas that 'the Karapans cause widespread distress, and through whose evil designs corrupt rulers hold sway over entire countries'³⁶). The ritual associated with the worship of the Daevas was also degrading³⁷). Herodotus recalled that in the earlier days the Persians were content to worship the broad expanses of heaven and the elevated objects of nature, 'the sun and moon, the earth, fire and water and the

33) Cf. BODE and NANAVUTTY, *op. cit.*, pp. 27-28.

34) *Yasna* 48, 1: *Yasna* (book of worship) is that part of the Avesta which contains the words of Zarathustra. The translation adopted here is that of BODE and NANAVUTTY, *Songs of Zarathustra*, London, (Allen & Unwin) 1952.

35) BODE and NANAVUTTY, *op. cit.*, p. 60 note 3.

36) *Yasna* 48, 10.

37) *Ibid.*

winds' but further remarked that 'they ... also learnt from the Arabians and Assyrians to worship other deities'. He then described in some detail this mode and ritual of worship. The victim was cut in pieces, the flesh then boiled, 'while one of the Magi standing by sings an ode concerning the original of the god'. The attendance and service of a priest was absolutely necessary, for 'without one of the Magi it is not lawful for them to sacrifice' ³⁸). Although Herodotus is writing over a hundred years after the time of Zarathustra his description of Persian religion seems to be an exact representation of the state of popular religion as portrayed in the Gathas ³⁹). Such ceremony and sacrifice as Herodotus describes were particularly offensive to the prophet, for he constantly denounced the 'deeds and doctrines' of the Karapans ⁴⁰). They 'are not friendly with the law-abiding. They hinder the cultivation, peace, and perfection of Creation' ⁴¹) and 'destroy the spiritual life of man' ⁴²). 'Evil rulers, evildoers, evil speakers ... evil thinkers' ⁴³) and 'cruel despots' ⁴⁴) constituted the dominant elements of the society of his day. In such an environment 'the poor in spirit, the meek and lowly of heart' ⁴⁵) lived in a constant state of terror and uncertainty ⁴⁶). Resolved therefore to 'speak against all Daevas and men of destruction' ⁴⁷) Zarathustra said: 'But you O Daevas all, you are the offspring of Ako Mana, the Evil Mind, and whoever firmly extols you is himself born of the Lie and is of perverse mind. ... You defrauded mankind of the good life and Immortality just as the Most Evil Mainyu beguiled you, O you Daevas' ⁴⁸).

Condemnation was not however the only role of the prophet. For

38) Book I, 131-132.

39) Cf. CLEMENT HUART, *Ancient Persia and Iranian Religion (The History of Civilization)* Eng. trans. M. R. DOBIE, 1927, pp. 82-84.

40) *Yasna* 51; 14: cf. also 32; 12, 15: 46; 11: 48; 10. W. B. HENNING shows that the Gathic term *Karapan* is derived from a verb meaning "'to moan' or 'mumble', a derogatory term", *op. cit.*, p. 45.

41) *Yasna* 51, 14.

42) *Yasna* 46, 11.

43) *Yasna* 49, 11.

44) *Yasna* 46, 1.

45) *Yasna* 34, 5.

46) *Yasna* 34, 8.

47) *Yasna* 34, 5.

48) *Yasna* 32, parts of verses 3 and 5.

while he attacks the existing order of society he would destroy only to build. Of the practices of the Daevas he could say, 'I look upon' them 'with spiritual disgust', but he immediately pledges himself to the propagation of the 'Revelation' of Ahura⁴⁹⁾ and prays 'May our tongues reveal the all-powerful, Holy Word, the Manthra, through which we may lead the wicked to believe in the true faith'⁵⁰⁾. To this solemn purpose was he called. As Isaiah when confronted with the majesty of Yahweh had no choice but to surrender to His service⁵¹⁾, so now when Mazda was revealed to Zarathustra as 'The First and also the Last for all eternity, as the Father of Vohu Mana, as the true Creator of Asha, and Lord over the actions of life'⁵²⁾ he could only in awe and wonder utter 'How great Thy Power! How intense my desire for deeds performed in Thy Service, O Mazda'⁵³⁾. Whatever the terms *Mazda* and *Ahura* may have conveyed to the prophet before this experience the concept Ahura-Mazda was now filled with new and inexhaustible content. The sun and stars, earth and sky, formerly objects of Iranian worship, are now themselves created and upheld by Ahura-Mazda; for it is he who 'appointed the course of the sun and stars ... who sustained the earth and the sky ... who fashioned the water and the plants ... who gave speed to the wind and the clouds' and 'who wrought the expanses of light and darkness'⁵⁴⁾. But Ahura also fashioned 'for us physical bodies, discerning souls, and directive intelligences' and infused 'life-breath into mortal bones'⁵⁵⁾. Zarathustra could moreover say, 'All holy lives are Thine, O Mazda, in truth, all which have been, which are and which shall be'⁵⁶⁾. His cosmology is therefore complete: the universe, man and mind are alike created and sustained by Ahura-Mazda, omniscient of past, present and future⁵⁷⁾, whose being can only be conceived of 'in essence and in vision'⁵⁸⁾.

49) *Yasna* 44, 11.

50) *Yasna* 28, 5.

51) Isaiah 6, 1-8.

52) *Yasna* 31, 8.

53) *Yasna* 34, 5.

54) *Yasna* 44 parts of verses 3, 4 and 5.

55) *Yasna* 31, 11.

56) *Yasna* 33, 10.

57) *Yasna* 29; 4, 6: 45; 3. 4.

58) *Yasna* 33, 7.

Although Zarathustra had conceived of his God in such infinite and spiritual terms he was primarily 'Lord of Life and Wisdom' ⁵⁹). The stark reality of evil was so evident all round him that he was compelled to make some effort to account for it. It is therefore to the lasting credit of the prophet that the age-long question of the problem of evil was for the first time in the history of thought discussed in speculative terms. It was not however without experiencing some metaphysical difficulties that he approached the problem. Ahura was lord of life and wisdom, and Zarathustra so emphasized this property of Ahura that he preferred to limit his power than to allot him even the most subordinate place in the kingdom of Evil. Greed, wickedness and the arbitrary dispensation of justice were so much a feature of the prophet's day, that by contrast, Ahura must be a God of goodness and justice. It is only by striving 'earnestly for the increase of Righteousness' that Ahura's Kingdom will be established ⁶⁰) and it is by being a 'righteous invoker in Asha' that the prophet himself hopes to 'fulfil' his 'mission on earth' ⁶¹). Hence Asha, concept of Righteousness, and Vohu Mana, Good thought, are distinctive properties of 'the Lord God Almighty' ⁶²). He rules through Asha ⁶³) and, again, Asha is the Divine Law itself ⁶⁴). Righteousness was therefore so expressive of the divine nature that Zarathustra could not conceive of evil as being in any way due to the activities or decrees of Ahura-Mazda. Deutero-Isaiah's God could 'form light and create darkness, make weal and create woe' ⁶⁵), but the activity of Ahura was in the realm of light and truth ⁶⁶). Yet Zarathustra does not evade the problem of evil. On the contrary his speculative acumen evolves a solution which in terms of an ethical dualism defines the origin of good and evil ⁶⁷).

59) *Yasna* 34, 10: 43, 16: 49, 12: 51, 2.

60) *Yasna* 31, 6.

61) *Yasna* 33, 6. That the prophet had some success in fulfilling this mission may be seen from the remark of HERODOTUS that the Persians teach their youths three things only, 'riding, and archery and truth-telling', Bk. 1, 136. Cf. also CICERO, *De re publica*, 3, 9, for the Persian aversion to idolatry.

62) *Yasna* 28, 5.

63) *Yasna* 44, 15.

64) *Yasna* 28, 9: cf. also 44, 9: 49, 6.

65) Isaiah 45, 7.

66) *Yasna* 30, 5: 46, 9.

67) In this connexion W. B. HENNING remarked: 'Any claim that the world was created by a good and benevolent god must provoke the question why the

We will let him speak for himself: 'Now I will declare to earnest listeners concerning the Twin Mainyu. ... In the beginning these two Mainyu, the twins, revealed themselves in thought, word and deed as the Better and the Bad ... And thus when these two Mainyu first came together, they generated life and the absence of life, and so shall human existence continue till the end of time: the worst life for the Followers of the Lie, but the supreme beatific vision for the Followers of Truth' ⁶⁸). Zarathustra therefore traces the origin of evil to the beginning of time. It was a condition brought about by the absence of the Good, but which however will always characterise life on this earth. A contemporary Greek philosopher, Anaximander, thinking in terms of physics maintained that things could only exist in this world by virtue of their opposite qualities ⁶⁹), but Zarathustra conceived of the whole activity of life as a tension between good and evil. Yet while this was the state of the world into which man was born, he was not, however, condemned to the fate of an endless and unrewarding struggle. For Zarathustra recognised the value and sacredness of the individual and offered man freedom to choose between the good and the bad. Since Ahura ordained 'that deeds and words shall bear fruit, evil comes to the evil, good blessings to the good' ⁷⁰), and as he gave 'the choice of a way either to abide with the good shepherd, the deliverer, or with him who never was one' ⁷¹), so did he 'grant us capacities to act and true doctrines to guide so that one could choose beliefs at will ... according to his own heart and mind' ⁷²). Thus the prophet connects the problem of evil with the freedom of the human will and regards 'the goodly power of free choice' as 'a divine dispensation surpassing all others' ⁷³). This

world, in the outcome, is so very far from good. Zoroaster's answer, that the world has been created by a good god and an evil spirit, of equal power, who set out to spoil the good work, is a complete answer: it is a logical answer, more satisfying to the thinking mind than the one given by the author of the Book of Job, who withdrew to the claim that it did not behove man to inquire into the Omnipotence', *op. cit.* p. 46.

68) *Yasna* 30, parts of verses 1, 3, 4.

69) See K. FREEMAN, *Companion to Diel's Pre-Socratic Philosophers*, 1946, pp. 58-59.

70) *Yasna* 43, 5.

71) *Yasna* 31, 9.

72) *Yasna* 31, parts of verses 11-12.

73) *Yasna* 51, 1.

conscious choice of the good but difficult path is not without its reward, for 'Whoever toils with word or thought or the actions of both hands to drive out evil from the Follower of the Druj, or directs his fellowman towards the good, such ... shall in truth dwell in the green pastures of the Divine Law and the Good Mind' ⁷⁴).

Yet Zarathustra was aware that while the postulate of a dualism may serve to explain the presence of evil, it was not in itself a sufficient answer to the man who devoutly acknowledges Ahura and conscientiously obeys his exalted moral demands. For despite the sincerity of the true devotee there was an abundance of sin and misery in the world. 'The false prophet distorts the Sacred Scriptures, and, in truth, through his evil doctrines, the divine purpose in life as well' ⁷⁵). Again, 'Without doubt, ... Followers of the Druj mutilate' the 'inner life, who, having conspired mightily together, deprive men and women from possessing their rightful spiritual inheritance' ⁷⁶). As the Psalmist cries to Yahweh for help 'because of the oppression of the wicked' ⁷⁷) so Zarathustra prays 'O Living God, bestow upon us that by which we may overcome the hatred of our oppressors' ⁷⁸); and as Jeremiah asks 'Wherefore doth the way of the wicked prosper' ⁷⁹), so, speaking of the 'men of evil faith', Zarathustra asks, 'Where is the Living God of Righteousness who would deprive them of life and freedom' ⁸⁰). Still he is convinced that 'retribution overtakes these Sinful men' ⁸¹). His faith in a righteous God and his firm conviction of the value of the moral life led him accordingly to think in terms of eschatology and to conceive of a life beyond human limitations where the righteous would receive their true reward and where the wicked would be consigned to torment and destruction: 'The souls of the just aspire after Immortality, whereas the torments of the wicked men ever continue' ⁸²). There will be a day of Judgment

74) *Yasna* 33, 2-3.

75) *Yasna* 32, 9.

76) *Yasna* 32, 11.

77) Psalm 55, 3.

78) *Yasna* 28, 6.

79) Jeremiah 12, 1.

80) *Yasna* 53, 9.

81) *Yasna* 30, 8.

82) *Yasna* 45, 7.

when Ahura will institute an 'Ordeal of blazing fire and molten metal the issue of which will be 'Destruction upon the Followers of the Druj. Blessings upon the Followers of Asha' 83). The 'Followers of the Druj' will then undergo 'a long period of darkness, a murky glow, and woeful wailings' 84). But even now Ahura cannot cede so much to Evil, and must eventually redeem his creation. The prophet envisages a time when even the wicked will be purified and Ahura himself acknowledged as the sole and victorious Ruler: 'There will be a long period of suffering for the wicked, and rewards for the pious, but thereafter eternal joy shall reign everywhere' 85).

Such Gathic passages enable us, then, to gain some knowledge of the essential elements of Zarathustra's teaching. Revolutionary in nature it is yet scientifically formulated. For, though zealous for the faith he professed and uncompromising in the prosecution of his reforms, he nevertheless displayed considerable dialectical skill in the presentation of his ideas. His conception of Ahura-Mazda as creator of man and nature and at the same time as a personal God represents an incalculable advance in the Persian thought of his day, while the definite and positive terms with which he discusses the nature of his God acclaim him as a pioneer of theological thought. Especially significant was his attempt to preserve the Righteousness of God, a question which forms the subject of the Book of Job and which at a later date still, under the term '*theodicy*' engaged the minds of philosophers 86). His explanation of the presence of evil and its connexion with the human will is reflected in the teaching of Jesus 87) and St. Paul 88), while it prompted the philosophy of contrast which found expression in the writings of Schelling and Hegel, and was to some extent adopted by the exponents of dialectical theology. Yet evil, according to Zarathustra, while a force as virile as that of the good

83) *Yasna* 51, 9.

84) *Yasna* 31, 20.

85) *Yasna* 30, 11: cf. also 47, 6.

86) E.g., LEIBNIZ, *Theodicee*. See BERTRAND RUSSELL, *The Philosophy of Leibniz*, Cambridge 1900, pp. 291-299.

87) E.g., Luke 5; 18, 20: 7; 48: Mark 2; 9-11. Cf. his saying 'the woman whom Satan hath bound' (Luke 13; 16) in which Evil is personified; so also Luke 22; 31.

88) E.g., Romans 7, 7-24.

in this world, is not insuperable, for by obedience to the will of Ahura its effects may be diminished; and in the Kingdom to which his eschatological thinking looks forward evil will be ultimately vanquished and Immortality the lot of all mankind. Thus the doctrine of personal immortality is established and marks a momentous advance in the history of religious thought.

SHORTER NOTES

BEMERKUNGEN ZU REINKARNATIONS- VORSTELLUNGEN DER GNOSIS

Die Vorstellung einer Reinkarnation als Ablösung der Seele vom Körper und Übergang in einen neuen Körper, auch einen tierischen, findet sich im Volksglauben der „Primitiven“¹⁾ und in den Märgen und Stammessagen vieler Völker — Gestaltwandel des Helden ist ein geläufiges folkloristisches Motiv —, besonders in der Mythologie indoarischer Völker (Griechen, Römer, Kelten, Germanen, Inder).²⁾ Sie geht überall dort über Mythologisches hinaus, wo entweder Karma-glaube herrscht, d.h. die Vorstellung, dass das menschliche Tun eine über das individuelle Leben hinauswirkende Kraft besitzt, oder ein Vergeltungsglaube wirksam ist, der nicht ins unsichtbar Jenseitige abgelenkt wurde.³⁾ Häufig liegen beide Motive kombiniert vor; so ist in Indien das Erlösungsziel — schlagwortartig ausgedrückt — die Vernichtung des Karma, um von der Samsara freizukommen, dem Vergeltungszwang zu stetigen Wiedergeburten. Welche Modifizierungen in den „östlichen“ Lehrsystemen (Hinduismus, Jainismus, Mahayana-Buddhismus, Lamaismus, Pythagoräismus, Orphik usw.) möglich waren und stattgefunden haben, kann hier nicht erörtert werden⁴⁾, da der Raum nur für einige aphoristische Bemerkungen über Reinkarnationsvorstellungen in der spätantiken Gnosis ausreicht.

Die Gnosis des zweiten christlichen Jahrhunderts, mit Recht als eine „unpersönliche religiöse Massenbewegung“ beschrieben, hatte ein

1) Vgl. K. Th. PREUSS, *Tod und Unsterblichkeit im Glauben der Naturvölker*, Leipzig 1930, 23 ff.

2) Vgl. W. STETTNER, *Die Seelenwanderungslehre bei Griechen und Römern*, Stuttgart 1934. — Den Ägyptern hat ein Grieche (Herodot) die Seelenwanderungslehre fälschlich angehängt.

3) Vgl. H. v. GLASENAPP, *Die Religionen Indiens*, Stuttgart 1943, 103 ff.; Ders. *Die fünf grossen Weltreligionen I*, Köln 1951, 52 ff.

4) Eine religionswissenschaftliche Monographie unseres Themas steht noch aus. Das von E. BENZ herausgegebene Sonderheft der *Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte* Jg. 9/1957, H. 2 schliesst diese Lücke noch nicht.

stark synkretistisches Gepräge. Auch buddhistische Einflüsse finden sich, war doch Buddha sogar unter die Gottheiten der hellenistischen Mysterienkulte eingegangen.⁵⁾ Zu den eindeutig orientalischen Motiven gehört die Metensomatosen- resp. Metempsychosen-lehre. Im wesentlichen treten zwei Gedankengänge hervor: 1. der Gestaltwandel des Erlösers, der aus der Lichtwelt in die Materie niedergestiegen ist und 2. die Befreiung vom Wiederverkörperungszwang durch den Mut zur Sünde.

I.

In meinem Buch „Urgemeinde-Judenchristentum-Gnosis“ (Tübingen 1956, 51 f.) habe ich darauf hingewiesen, dass die ebionitische Lehre von den Reinkarnationen des wahren Propheten (verus propheta per saecula currens) eng mit der jüdischen Vorstellung vom Gestaltwandel der Schechina und mit der grosskirchlichen Lehre vom $\theta\epsilon\acute{o}\nu\ \pi\nu\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha$ (fons omnis spiritus sancti) zusammenhängt. Da die Ebioniten Christen waren, hatte der zyklische Stufengang des Offenbarungsgeists für sie im Messias Jesus seine Vollendung gefunden. So gehört zum Nazoräerevangelium ein Gottesspruch, den Hieronymus im Kommentar zu Jesaja 11,2 überliefert hat: fili mi, in omnibus prophetis expectabam te, ut venires, et requiescerem in te. Tu es enim requies mea (MPL 24,145).⁶⁾ Das liegt nun aber anders bei den Elkesaiten, die den Stufengang des wahren Propheten nicht in Jesus definitiv beenden, sondern in Elkesai reinkarnieren lassen, denn Christus sei $\kappa\tau\acute{\iota}\sigma\mu\alpha\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \acute{\alpha}\epsilon\iota\ \pi\omicron\tau\epsilon\ \phi\alpha\iota\nu\acute{o}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\nu$ (Epiph. 33,1 Holl II,316). Zuerst sei er in Adam gestaltet worden, aber Adams Leib, so glauben sie, $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\delta\upsilon\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\delta\upsilon\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota\ \acute{\omicron}\tau\epsilon\ \beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$. Auch Hippolyt X,29 (Wendl. III, 284) berichtet von ihrer Lehre, dass Christus zwar einer sei, aber auf Erden in vielen Leibern wiederkehre: $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{o}\nu\text{---}\text{---}\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\iota\tau\alpha\ \acute{\alpha}\epsilon\iota\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \sigma\acute{\omega}\mu\alpha\sigma\iota\ \mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\gamma\gamma\acute{\iota}\zeta\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \pi\omicron\lambda\lambda\omicron\upsilon\zeta\ \kappa\alpha\tau\grave{\alpha}\ \kappa\alpha\iota\rho\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}\iota\kappa\nu\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$. Dieser Terminus $\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\gamma\gamma\acute{\iota}\zeta\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ für die Reinkarnation der einen Himmelsseele in vielen Leibgefässen dürfte pythagoräischen Ursprungs

5) Über indisch-griechische Beziehungen vgl. W. W. TARN: *Greeks in Bactria and India*, Cambridge 1951; K. PRÜMM: *Religionsgeschichtliches Handbuch für den Raum der altchristlichen Umwelt*, Rom 1954², 128; C. SCHNEIDER *Geistesgeschichte des antiken Christentums* I, München 1954, 599 ff.

6) Vgl. H. J. SCHOEPS, *Theologie und Geschichte des Judenchristentums*, Tübingen 1949, 109.

sein. Epiphanius hat aber Recht, wenn er von ihnen sagt, dass sie weder Christen noch Juden noch Griechen seien, sondern in der Mitte stehen (53,1,3).

Diese hochgnostische Metensomatosenlehre hat erhebliche Nachwirkungen gehabt, insofern sie sich von Elkesai über Mandäer — der Schlichta kuthana (wahre Sendbote) der Mandäer ist der ἀληθής προφήτης der Ebioniten — und Manichäer — Mani lehrte 7 Herolde des Lichtnous — zu Muhammed fortgepflanzt hat. 7). Die Imamlehre der Schiiten dürfte ebenso auf diese altorientalischen Vorstellungen zurückgehen, wie die Lehre vom Stufengang des Amr ilahi bei den arabischen Scholastikern. 8) Die Avataren Wischnus im Hinduismus, die buddhistischen Boddhisattvas und die lamaistischen Reinkarnationen in Tibet sind homologe Entsprechungen zum Phaenomenbestand der biblischen Entwicklungslinie.

2.

Bei Karpokratianern, aber offenbar auch bei Schülern des Basilides und bei den „Gnostikern“ des Irenäus findet sich eine ganz andere und höchst seltsame Ausformung des Reinkarnationsgedankens, mit der der weltanschauliche Libertinismus begründet werden soll. Irenäus I,25,3 berichtet von den Karpokratianern mit allen Zeichen der Entrüstung folgendes:

„So sehr haben sie dem Irrsinn die Zügel schiessen lassen, dass sie behaupten, es stehe ihnen frei, jede beliebige unfrome und gottlose Handlung zu begehen; denn nur das menschliche Urteil unterscheidet zwischen guten und bösen Handlungen. Müssten doch die Seelen bei ihren Wanderungen durch die Körper jegliches Leben und jegliches Handeln durchmachen, wenn nicht jemand gerade beim ersten Male alles erlebt hätte. Wir dürfen das weder sagen noch hören, noch im entferntesten denken und glauben, dass so etwas in unseren Städten getrieben wird. Aber ihre Schriften lehren, dass die Seelen von ihrem Abscheiden alles bis auf den letzten Rest durchgemacht haben müssen, damit sie nicht, weil sie ihre Freiheit noch nicht ausgekostet hätten, noch einmal in einen Körper eingehen müssen. Das habe Jesus mit dem Gleichnis angedeutet: „So du aber mit deinem

7) Vgl. G. WIDENGREN, *The Great Vohu Manah and the Apostle of God*, Studies in Iranian and Manichäan Religion, Uppsala 1945; Ders. *Religionens värld*, Stockholm 1953², 401 ff.; G. QUISPÉL, *Der gnostische Anthropos und die jüdische Tradition*, *Eranos-Jahrbuch* 22/1954, 206 f.

8) Vgl. meine Ausführungen in *Aus frühchristlicher Zeit, Religions- und geistesgeschichtliche Untersuchungen*, Tübingen 1950, 204 ff.

Widersacher vor den Fürsten gehst, so tue Fleiss auf dem Wege, dass du ihn loswerdest, auf dass er nicht etwa dich vor den Richter ziehe und der Richter überantwortet dich dem Stockmeister, und der Stockmeister werfe dich ins Gefängnis. Ich sage dir: Du wirst von dannen nicht herauskommen, bis du den allerletzten Heller bezahlt hast". --- Dies bedeutet, dass er von der Macht der Engel, die die Welt geschaffen habe, nicht loskommen werde. Vielmehr werde er in andere Körper versetzt, bis er jede Tat verübt hat, die es in der Welt gibt. Erst dann, wenn daran garnichts mehr fehlt, dann sei die Seele frei und ledig für jenen Gott, der über den kosmischen Archonten steht. So würden also die Seelen erlöst und befreit, indem sie entweder gleich von vornherein beim ersten Mal sich in allen Handlungen betätigten oder, indem sie von Körper zu Körper wandernd und in jede Art des Lebens versenkt, ihre Schuld abgetragen und erfüllt hätten. Dann brauchten sie nicht mehr in einem Körper zu sein. Ob nun wirklich diese gottlosen, frevelhaften und verbotenen Dinge sich bei ihnen zutragen, das möchte ich wohl bezweifeln; aber in ihren Schriften steht es geschrieben, und sie selber legen es so aus und sagen, Jesus habe seinen Aposteln und Jüngern im Geheimen besondere Lehren gegeben und sie beauftragt, diese den Gläubigen und den Würdigen anzuvertrauen. Glaube und Liebe machen selig, das Übrige sei gleichgültig, und nur nach dem Urteil der Menschen werde es gut oder böse genannt; von Natur aber gebe es nichts Böses."

Das Bemerkenswerte an diesem Text ist die Christianisierung paganer Gedankengänge durch Kombination orphischer Lehren mit gnostischer Bibelexegese, bei der natürlich der Sinn der Jesusworte (Luc. 12,58; Mt. 5,25 f.) verdreht und auf den Kopf gestellt wird. Dass dem Irenäus karpokratianische Originalschriften vorgelegen haben, ist ausser Zweifel. Ihre von ihm sicher exakt widergegebene Tendenz ist ebenfalls klar: Alle Handlungen sind nach ihrer Lehre ethisch indifferent, weil der Unterschied von Gut und Böse ganz und gar auf menschlichem Dafürhalten beruht. Am besten mache man alle Sünden in einem Leben durch, um sich aus dem „Kerker des Leibes“ zu befreien und nicht in den Kreislauf der Wiedergeburten hineingezwungen zu werden. Ähnlich soll Basilides gelehrt haben, dass man alles geliebt haben müsse, um danach begierdelos zu werden (Clemens Alex. Strom. IV, 12, 88).

Wir sehen also: Die Lehre von der Reinkarnation wird mit dem Appell verknüpft, tapfer zu sündigen, weil die Sünde nur durch Sündigen aus der Welt gebracht werden kann. Durch Freveltaten aller Art soll nämlich die Seele den Archonten dieser Welt entgehen.

Nur durch systematische *αἰσχρογῆ*, indem man durch alle Sünden hindurchgeht und die 365 Stufengrade der Unzucht durchläuft — so gross ist die Zahl der Archonten —, gelangt man zur Erlösung von den bösen Weltmächten. Die vollendete Gnosis ist erreicht, wenn der Mensch die Ordnungen dieser Welt aufgelöst und den Zwang zur Wiederverkörperung besiegt hat. Und dies soll durch konsequentes Sündigen geschehen, denn schon Paulus (Röm. 5,20!) habe gelehrt, dass der Mensch das Mass der Sünden vollzumachen habe. So liessen sich sogar noch der Apostel Paulus und die Seelenwanderungslehre miteinander kombinieren — und zwar im Dienste eines nihilistischen Weltzerstörungswillens. Was hierzu religions- und geistesgeschichtlich gesagt werden kann, ist bereits von mir gesagt worden.⁹⁾

9) Vgl. meine Abhandlung: 'Gnostischer Nihilismus, Zur Ideologie und Praxis des Gesetzesfeindschaft', in dem Band *Aus frühchristlicher Zeit* 255-270.

H. J. SCHOEPS

A PROBABLE CREATION- AND FLOOD-MYTH IN PORTUGUESE EAST AFRICA.

Dr. Keller, in his recent book *The Bible as History*, reminds us that about 2000 B.C. the story of Gilgamesh and the old Sumerian legends of the Creation and the Flood were being woven into epics of dramatic power in the Akkadian tongue, which was the language of the World. As is well known, Creation and Flood myths are found in many parts of the world at the present day. It has occurred to me that a story I once heard among the Lenge (Chopi) of Portuguese East Africa may be of this character. This tale was published in English in my book *Valenge Women* (International African Institute. The book is now out of print). I had not then realized the possible significance of the tale as a Creation and Flood myth, possibly a descendant of one of those far-off ancient epics to which Dr. Keller refers. This is the story:

A woman sallied forth to seek for pot-clay. She made a little clay doll and put it up in the rafters of her hut to dry. Then she kindled a fire. The woman called the little figurine 'Dipumbane' (a little moulded thing). When Dipumbane was dried, she came to life with a sneeze, exclaiming "Whetsi! Take me off, Mamma!" Her Mamma lifted her down from the rafters. Then young girls arrived. They

said: — “Let us go to the Harvest Dancing Contests”. Dipumbane refused, “I might dissolve”, said she. The maidens replied, “We will protect you with our garments”. Dipumbane said, “You may leave me! I should be drowned with the rain!” The girls cried: — “Oh! no! no! let us go! We will cover you up”. So off they all went to the Dances.

Clouds began to gather, and a great rain fell. (“Came a black cloud from the foundations of Heaven”. Gilgamesh Epic). The girls protected Dipumbane with their garments, but when they were tired with the cold of the rain, they snatched their clothes away from Dipumbane and covered themselves. Dipumbane had nothing. Very wet she returned home, lamenting as she went in the path to the hut: —

Mamma! Mother of Mercy! Maker of Pots!

I am dissolving!

I am the bearer of the bag,

I am dissolving!

(The word used for Mercy can also mean the grass on which a pot rests on a woman's head. The ‘bag’ referred to in the lament may mean a bag of divining omens *or* a bag in which media for *lobola* are carried. Both kinds of bag have a symbolical meaning).

As Dipumbane sang her mournful refrain, one of her legs came off. She hopped along on the other leg and then that came off. Her Mother went to the gateway to meet Dipumbane. Mamma seized her, pounded her again in a mortar, adding more clay, and remodelled her. Then she placed Dipumbane up in the rafters again.

Dipumbane sneezed: — “Take me down, Mamma!” Mamma lifted her down, saying, “Do not go to the Dances again!” Dipumbane replied: — “No! No! I will not go to the Dances yet!” But when her Mother had gone to her gardens in the fields, the girls came again, tempting Dipumbane. “Let us go to the Dances!” Dipumbane replied, “My Mamma may scold me! Because she told me not to go again to the Dances”. The girls said, “We will give you an umbrella!” (The original word ‘shade’ is used for umbrella at the present time). Dipumbane replied, “You may deceive me as you did before! You promised to give me clothes and then you took them away again”. The girls exclaimed: “Oh! no! no! We are certain to-day that we will give you our umbrella”. So Dipumbane went off again with the girls to the Dances. They were watching the competitions when some great black

clouds rolled up; the kind which bring heavy rain. It rained indeed. The girls gave Dipumbane the umbrella saying: — "Protect yourself with it". But the rain proved too much for the owners of the umbrella, so they snatched it away from Dipumbane. Dipumbane began to cry. "You have deceived me! You said you would give me an umbrella if I agreed to go to the Dances with you". The girls said, "Oh! but we feel the rain". So they ran away and left Dipumbane drenched with the rain. (The gods of Mesopotamia are terrified by the Flood and flee to the upper reaches of heaven where the god Anu has his abode. Before they enter, they crouch and cower like dogs. The Gilgamesh Epic, quoted by Keller).

Dipumbane, singing her mournful refrain as before, tried to make her way home. One of her legs came off. She hopped on the other. That, too, came off, then both her arms; her head alone remaining. She cried again to her Mother, who scolded her, saying, "To-day I shall leave you. You will crumble there in the Bush!" So her Mother left her in the Bush. The rain dissolved Dipumbane into mud. (And all mankind was turned to clay. Gilgamesh Epic).

It was disobedience which caused Dipumbane's catastrophe. (And God saw that the wickedness of man was great in the earth... And it repented the Lord that He had made man on the earth...). And the Lord said: "I will destroy man whom I have created from the face of the earth". (The Bible story of the Flood. Genesis, Chapter VI, verses 5-7).

E. DORA EARTHY

BULLETIN

ST. VLADIMIR'S SEMINARY QUARTERLY

We take much pleasure in announcing the publication of Vol. 1 (New Series) No 1, January 1957 of the *St. Vladimir's Seminary Quarterly*. This Quarterly is published by St. Vladimir's Seminary which has been acknowledged as the center of research at graduate level for all branches of the Eastern Orthodox Church in the United States. The leading articles concern contemporary problems of our modern world. Many of the world's leading Orthodox Theologians are among its contributing authors. The issue on our desk contains the following articles: Nicholas S. Arseniew, *Meaning and Goal of History*; Rev. Alexander Schnemann, *St. Mark of Ephesus and the Theological Conflicts in Byzantium*; Bishop Nikolai D. Velimirovich, *The Orthodox Doctrine of Causality*. To these studies are added communications and bookreviews. Noteworthy are primarily *Some Introductory Words* and *Trying the Spirits*, two short articles which reveal the spirit and the leading idea of the Quarterly. In the foreword of N. Arseniew it is said that the proclamation of the Victory of God in Christ our Lord is the banner under which the task of Christian preaching and Christian Scholarship and research work should be performed. The article on *Trying the Spirits* describes two attitudes among the Orthodox: there are those for whom the new situation after the fall of the Russian empire is a bad dream and who consequently stand for preservation and artificial isolationism; on the other hand there are those who claim that whatever in the Orthodox Tradition does not fit into the new world has to be abandoned. However both blind conservatism and superficial modernism should be avoided. What we need today is an effort of spiritual discernment, i.e. an ever renewed interpretation and proclamation of the Truth to this given generation, in this particular situation. Editorial and Subscription Office (one year \$ 3.00): 537 West 121st Street, New York 27. New York. C. J. B.

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